



TIME

INAUGURATION PREVIEW



A new President
and the burdens
that await him

Great Expectations



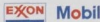
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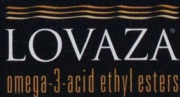
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Important Safety Information for LOVAZA® (omega-3-acid ethyl esters): LOVAZA, along with diet, helps to lower very high triglyceride levels. If you are allergic to fish, you should not take LOVAZA. Talk to your doctor about any medications you are taking, especially those that may increase your risk of bleeding.

Possible side effects include burping, infection, flu-like symptoms and upset stomach.

See the Patient Information Leaflet on next page.

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PATIENT INFORMATION

LOVAZA® (iō-vā-zā)
(omega-3-acid ethyl
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LOVAZA®
omega-3-acid ethyl esters

Read the Patient Information that comes with LOVAZA before you start taking it, and each time you get a refill. There may be new information. This leaflet does not take the place of talking with your doctor about your condition or treatment.

What is LOVAZA?

LOVAZA is a prescription medicine for adults called a lipid-regulating medicine. LOVAZA is made of omega-3 fatty acids. Omega-3 fatty acids are natural substances that your body needs. They are found naturally in some plants and in the oil of certain fish, such as salmon and mackerel.

LOVAZA is used along with a low-fat and low-cholesterol diet to lower very high triglycerides (fats) in your blood. Before taking LOVAZA, talk to your healthcare provider about how you can lower high blood fats by:

- losing weight, if you are overweight
- increasing physical exercise

Treatment with LOVAZA has not been shown to prevent heart attacks or strokes.

LOVAZA has not been studied in children under the age of 18 years.

What should I tell my doctor before taking LOVAZA?

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- to reduce clotting -- known as anticoagulants or blood thinners. These include aspirin, warfarin, coumarin and clopidogrel (PLAVIX).

Tell your doctor if you **are allergic to fish**.

LOVAZA may not be right for you.

Who should not take LOVAZA?

Do not take LOVAZA if you:

- **are allergic to LOVAZA or any of its ingredients.**

What are the possible side effects of LOVAZA?

- The most common side effects with LOVAZA are burping, infection, flu symptoms and upset stomach.


Talk to your doctor if you have side effects that bother you or that will not go away. You may report side effects to FDA at 1-800-FDA-1088.

These are not all the side effects with LOVAZA. Ask your doctor or pharmacist for a complete list.

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LIFE

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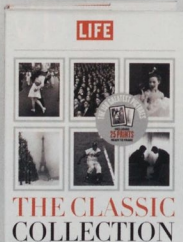
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10 Questions. Mr. *Playboy* marks a recent biography and his publication's 55th anniversary.

Hugh Hefner will now take your questions

You have built an empire by marketing a liberal view of sexuality. Is there anything in your life that you are conservative about?

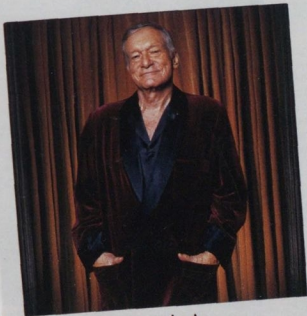
Beth Nolcox, NEW YORK CITY
Well, yes. I was raised in a very traditional home, and I'm still a very traditional fellow. My problem is the labels of conservative and liberal don't usually work very well for me. I'm not a guy, for example, who believes in political correctness. I think people ought to be people and shouldn't be so concerned with the fact that their neighbors are different than they are.

How much have views of sex changed since you started *Playboy*?

**Jeff Wolman
SILVER SPRING, MD.**
I think sex in America has changed dramatically, and young people don't have any real notion as to how much. When I first published *Playboy*, nice young people did not live together before they got married. Having a baby out of wedlock was a scandal that drove some people to suicide. Oral sex was illegal. *Playboy* played a major part in changing all that.

How do you feel about Proposition 8? Do you feel it is fair to treat gay people as second-class citizens?

Richard Meyer, SAN FRANCISCO
I believe gays should have the same rights as everybody else, and they should have the right to marry. We have a Constitution to protect us against mob rule. If we simply went by what is popular, black men probably wouldn't have equal rights.



*Hugh Hefner
The party continues!*

You seem to have good relationships with all your past girlfriends. How do you do that?

Nancy Lee, BOSTON
I think that is because the relationships have been good ones and because I care about people. I think there is something very, very sad if you are married to someone or have a relationship with somebody and then wind up enemies or hating one another. What you're doing is really cutting away a part of your own past.

What is the No. 1 quality you think makes a woman a sex symbol?

**Erika Mendoza
SCOTTSDALE, ARIZ.**
Well, the No. 1 thing is looks. But then you have to get into something that's much more

unique, and that's personality. The universal sex symbol of the 20th century was Marilyn Monroe because she was both sexual and vulnerable. That combination had tremendous appeal.

Where do you get your pajamas?

**Jessica Montgomery
DULUTH, MINN.**
All of my pajamas are silk and are custom-made. I'd be happy to disclose if I knew by whom.

Your industry is often accused of being damaging to women, yet you assert that you are an active feminist. Could you clarify this position?

**Thayne Stoddard
NEW HAVEN, CONN.**
My industry is magazine publishing. Pornography? That isn't

my industry. If you call sexual images pornography, then they are negative. If you call those same images erotic, they are positive. I'm not an active feminist. I'm an active humanist. I separated ways from feminism when it became antisexual. I believe embracing sexuality is part of what it means to be free.

Is sex as good at the age of 82 as it was at 33?

Andrew Webster, SYDNEY
I wish I remembered more clearly what sex was like when I was 33. I would say it is better now. But, of course, I know a few more tricks now than I did back then.

Do you ever grow tired of the *playboy* lifestyle and regret not settling down?

Ceara Jolliffe, COLLINSVILLE, ILL.
I've tried it both ways. I've been married twice, and the only time I wasn't having a lot of sex was when I was married. I look back over the years—the happiest times for me were the times in the early stages of romantic love, when the passion is strongest and when you truly care about somebody and someone really cares about you. Young love, new love, keeps you young.

Do you ever feel like a dirty old man?

Lisa Pearl, TORONTO
Not for a moment. I'm on the side of the angels and always have been.



VIDEO AT TIME.COM

To watch a video interview with Hugh Hefner and to subscribe to the 10 Questions podcast on iTunes, go to time.com/10questions

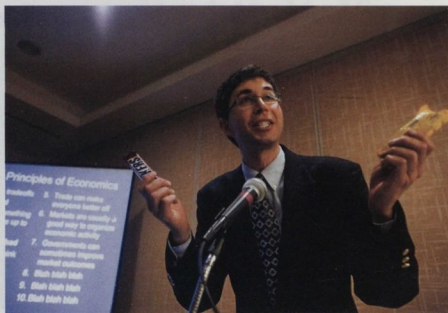
Postcard: San Francisco. Even as the economic gloom deepens, some financial experts just want to have fun. Have you heard the one about the stand-up economist?

BY SUSAN KIM

Global Dispatch
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IT'S SATURDAY NIGHT AT THE AMERICAN Economics Association's conference, and Peter Orazem has just taken the podium in an overcrowded ballroom at the San Francisco Hilton. Hundreds of fellow Ph.D.s in Dockers, blue dress shirts and thick glasses fill the seats and line the walls. They've come to hear several economists offer their unique perspectives amid one of the worst financial crises in history, and Orazem, an Iowa State University economics professor, starts off discussing a government plan to combine health care and homeland security. "Now, instead of sending you to the doctor, they send you through airport security," he says. "On my way out here, it was established that my shoes had no plastic explosives, my bag had no sharp objects and my prostate was cancer-free."

The Economics Humor Session is the AEA conference's first attempt to inject a little levity into an annual confab that noneconomists might charitably describe as dry. "You can count on one hand all the funny economists in the world," says R. Preston McAfee, a California Institute of Technology economics professor and Yahoo! research fellow who presided over the evening. But despite their rarity, some of these academics have attracted wide followings—admittedly, among those who can laugh at supply-demand curves. Yoram Bauman, a professor at the University of Washington, bills himself as the World's First and Only Stand-Up Economist—but insists on the asterisk to honor exceptions like Ben Stein, who played the stupefyingly boring teacher in *Ferris Bueller's Day Off*. Bauman does a killer parody of Greg Mankiw, chairman of George W. Bush's Council of Economic Advisers, a YouTube video of which has been watched 500,000 times. He's also the subject of a Facebook group called the Yoram Bauman International Appreciation Society (Pakistan chapter). "It's made up mostly



"Laughter" curve Yoram Bauman cracks up the crowd at the Economics Humor Session

of Pakistani graduate students," he says.

The evening of stand-up comedy is held in a room furnished for the AEA's more traditional meetings: ugly carpeting, stiff conference-room chairs and a screen for PowerPoint presentations. Not exactly the ideal setting, but as an audience member remarks, "This is the Carnegie Hall for economists who are also comedians." For attendees, it's the biggest night of the conference: boisterous comic relief to end a week packed with enticingly titled seminars such as "Arbitrage of Capital" and "Dynamics of Asset Returns and Liquidity." "Microeconomists are wrong about specific things, and macroeconomists are wrong about things in general," Bauman quips during his set. "Particularly having successfully predicted nine out of the last five recessions." It's funnier if you're familiar with the inherent tense dichotomy between micro- and macroeconomic schools of thought. With this crowd, it kills.

Economists can be forgiven for being a little loopy these days. The scope and suddenness of the ongoing financial crisis

have been a rude awakening for many. "No one expected the problems to run this wide and deep," says a Harvard Ph.D. in attendance. "It's chilling." That's why many of the more accessible jokes of the evening involve bashing U.S. Treasury Secretary Henry Paulson, Federal Reserve Chairman Ben Bernanke, President Bush and just about everyone on Wall Street. "Italian Mafia are gangsters who make offers you can't refuse, whereas financial mafia are bankers who make you loans you can't understand," jokes Bauman. "I'm not sure which is worse."

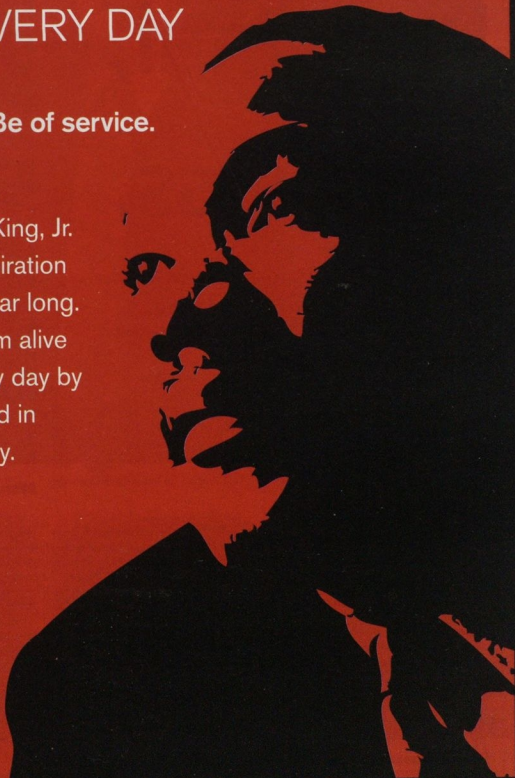
Despite universal concern over the state of the global economy, few attendees agreed on what should be done to fix it. "It's typical that if you have five economists in the room, you'll get six different opinions," Bauman says, after the show. Nevertheless, the prevailing view by the end of the conference is that things are unlikely to get any better without some sort of government intervention. "Even the hard-core free-market thinkers are reconsidering their stance nowadays," he notes. That's a sobering thought. Which could be why economists need a laugh right now.



FOLLOW IN HIS
FOOTSTEPS
THIS DAY AND
EVERY DAY

Be inspired. Be of service.

This year, let
Martin Luther King, Jr.
Day be an inspiration
that lasts all year long.
Keep the dream alive
each and every day by
getting involved in
your community.



it's not Personal, it's just Business.

How companies are planning for the future with an aggressive top-down management approach.

BY MINESH LAD

I could tell you what the secret to my success is," chuckles George Louverdis, sipping a single malt whisky, aged 20 years. "But then I'd have to kill you. And I'm a yellow belt." Longtime practitioners of a top-down style of management, George Louverdis and his partner, Lars Lohndorf-Larsen, aren't running a popularity contest. At their company, it's their way or the highway. And they say that's not likely to change anytime soon.

"The way we see it, it's not particularly important what other people think. You need to be the

smartest guy in the room. And if that's not the case, you'd better talk like you are."

And talk they do. Words come loud and they come fast. And so far it's working just fine. "We've got a ton of stats that show our business is blowing up bigger than ever before. We can show you the numbers if you want. We're not going to just give them to you, but we have them."

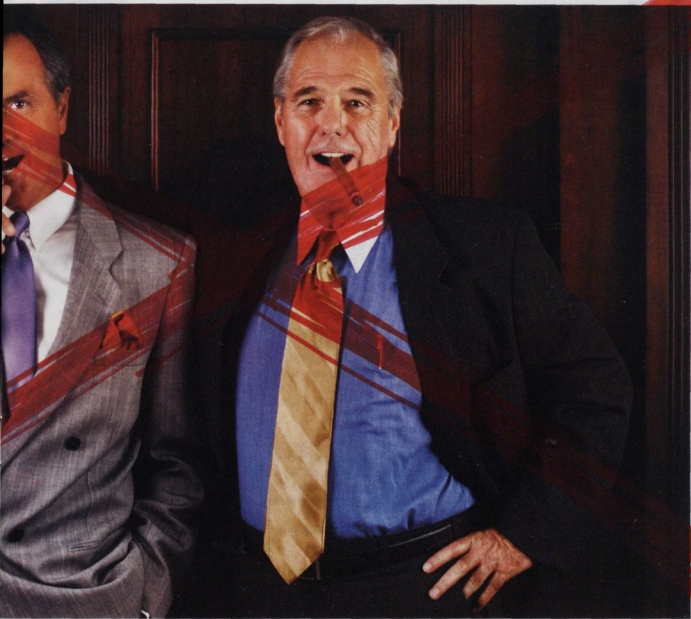
Which, incidentally, is a technique that has served them well in the past. "Everybody doesn't need to know everything all the time. In fact, most

people probably shouldn't really know anything. Everybody's gonna make mistakes along the way. We don't make mistakes, and we encourage others not to make mistakes. Which is why we're in charge."

Projects that have deadlines or involve departments require a centralized form of leadership that needs to come from a person. That person, in this case, is Mr. Louverdis and Mr. Lohndorf-Larsen. And although input from a broader team of stakeholders may be helpful, the two would just as soon eschew that input.

Microsoft





George Louwerds and his partner, Lars Lohndorf-Larsen tell it like they think it should be.

"People may not agree with the way we do business. That's fine. It's just the price you pay for knowing a heck of a lot of things about a heck of a lot of stuff." And if the two of them aren't experts in any one field? "We can pretty much wing it, and by 'wing it' we're referring to 99.9% precision, here."

The keys to successfully utilizing a top-down management style are a small group of people, in this case two, thinking things and then having people do them. As the manager, it's important to have expectations of each person who has a role to play in the

project. If those expectations aren't met, the employees are forced to learn from their mistakes. "Humiliation is a tool, and we've found it comes in handy when communicating expectations to our employees. Usually, they're pretty responsive to it. And if they're not, humiliation can be an effective form of punishment." When conveying personal shortcomings to an employee, both owners agree that you should be as specific as possible, since ambiguity opens the door for potential failure. "Everybody's got something they're incredibly embarrassed about,

something they don't want anyone to know about themselves. And that's really the sweet spot."

Likewise, top-down management requires the manager to be decisive, yet unwavering. If you hesitate or falter in the decision-making responsibilities, says Lohndorf-Larsen, your employees may view it as a sign of weakness, which goes against the value proposition. "We're not here to re-invent the wheel, you know? Chances of us getting it wrong aren't likely, so let's just go with what we say, and call it a day."



Inbox



Seeing the Fluorescent Light

THANK YOU, *TIME*, FOR GIVING US SOLID reasons to be hopeful on the crucial energy issue [Jan. 12]. With incentives for energy efficiency, the economy would hum with millions of local projects requiring little or no government planning. Moreover, by choosing a relatively low-tech policy that the world could readily copy, we would at last become leaders in climate protection—and in rejecting the needless and dangerous expansion of nuclear power.

Egan O'Connor, SAN FRANCISCO

ANOTHER UNDERUTILIZED ENERGY-efficiency tip: for new construction, simply orienting buildings correctly and optimizing window locations can cut energy use by a quarter or more. These are savings from Day One—and at no extra cost.

Dave Deppen, SAN RAFAEL, CALIF.

ENERGY EFFICIENCY CAN ALSO HAVE its downside. The California building codes you praise ("airtight shells") have harmed some who have reacted to the chemicals trapped inside. The much touted compact fluorescent lightbulbs can increase symptoms in people with migraines and other conditions. Plus, if they break, they can release toxic mercury. And when one burns out, you can't toss it in the trash; you have to waste gas driving the bulb across the country to a toxic-waste disposal center.

Karen M. Campbell, SACRAMENTO, CALIF.

'I'm confused: Caroline Kennedy does not have enough experience to be a New York Senator? How much did Hillary Clinton have?'

Bill Buffington, WOODLAND HILLS, CALIF.

Senate hopeful The merits of Kennedy's résumé stir reader debate

I'M 24. THE CHALLENGE OF MY GENERATION is not only to create practical solutions for conservation but also to do what our grandparents did: put on a sweater.

Michelle Sisson, FAIR OAKS, CALIF.

In Defense of George W. Bush

MICHAEL KINSLEY'S ESSAY ON BUSH'S FAILURES fails to take into account legitimate concerns over growing terrorism before the Bush Administration [Jan. 12]. He dismisses the 1993 World Trade Center attack and the 2000 U.S.S. *Cole* bombing—which killed 17 U.S. sailors—to create the image of a fearmongering Republican President. Kinsley scolds Bush for not keeping his promises, but Kinsley must realize that these circumstances call for extreme measures.

Raza Syed Hoda, ITHACA, N.Y.

Violence in Gaza

I HOPE THE ISRAELIS KNOW THERE IS A non-Israeli who fervently prays for their success [Jan. 12]. Hamas provokes, as always, and waits for the world to condemn Israel. I don't know why people cannot see through this cheap trick.

Vani Valluri, SECUNDERABAD, INDIA

I WANT THE JEWISH PEOPLE TO HAVE A homeland as intended by the U.N., and the Israeli people have the right to defend themselves against those who employ terrorist tactics. Yet given the painful history of the

WHAT'S IN A NAME?

NEW YORKERS WHO SEE CAROLINE Kennedy as underqualified to be Senator are rubbing the wrong way by her perceived sense of entitlement to the position [Jan. 12]. Kennedy's name does not resonate as much with those who were not alive when her father was slain. The best solution is for a respected statesman to serve until 2010. Then Kennedy could run in a 2010 primary; if she wins, she will have earned the nomination instead of receiving it on a silver platter.

Reba Shimansky, NEW YORK CITY

humanitarian crimes against the Jewish people, it saddens me to see the disproportionate response by Israel in dealing with the situation in Gaza. Israel should hold to the highest standards of human rights and fairness. Instead, in my view, it practices bullying tactics. The Israelis should be careful that they do not become what they seek to defend themselves against.

Greg Bergh, CAPE TOWN

WHERE WAS THE OUTRAGE AND MEDIA coverage when Hamas militants began firing rockets daily into Israel even before the cease-fire was over? If Hamas had believed Israel's threat to retaliate if the attacks did not stop, maybe the death toll would have been limited to only Israel.

Miriam Goldman, MINEOLA, N.Y.

And They Call It Puppy Love

I OBJECT STRENUOUSLY TO THE USE OF THE word *spawns* in Pop Chart in referring to Bristol Palin's giving birth [Jan. 12]. When unmarried Hollywood stars have a child out of wedlock, you call it love. When two teenagers in love welcome a child into the Palin family, you refer to spawning. An apology is in order.

LaFern Kulik, WEST BRANCH, MICH.



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No. 1 in Modern Energy



Think wind power only creates electricity?

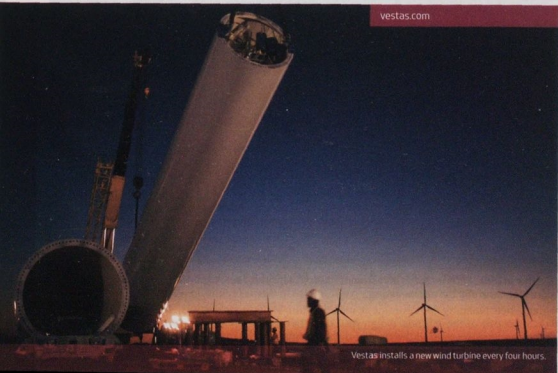
Think again.

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The demand for sustainable, clean modern energy has never been greater and Vestas brings over 30 years of experience, technology and know how in making sure the limitless power of the wind is put to good use - in more ways than one.

vestas.com

Vestas



Vestas installs a new wind turbine every four hours.

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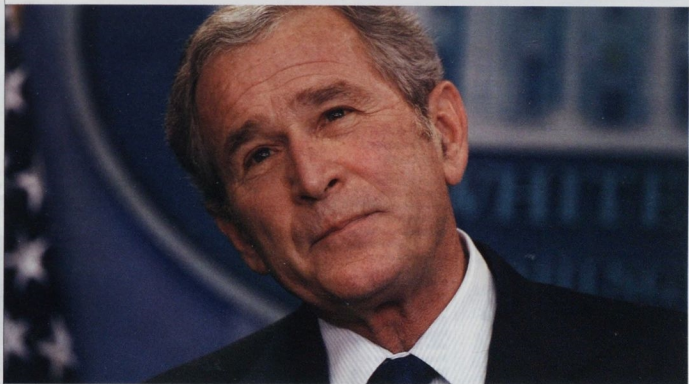
Briefing

Drawing Room
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THE WORLD VERBATIM POP CHART

HISTORY MILESTONES



The Moment

1/12/09: Washington

RUNNING FOR RE-ELECTION in 2004, George W. Bush was stumped when asked to name some of his mistakes. Now, with four years to think about it, he's identified a few. Note to future Presidents: Don't stand under a banner declaring **MISSION ACCOMPLISHED** unless you're darn sure it has been. "It sent the wrong message," Bush explained at his final press conference. The event was equal parts wistful, wry, confessional and defiant. Set it to music and you'd have Sinatra.

The President even added a little Bushism to his mea culpa, one more for the road. "We were trying to say something differently, but nevertheless it conveyed a different message," Bush said—counting, as always, on his inflection, brow-wrinkling and calisthenic widening and narrowing of the eyes to get across his meaning. Maybe they should engrave that one over the doors of the future Bush Library. Love him or hate him, Bush has undeniably been

a President who tried doing things differently, but nevertheless got different results. He is the free-market apostle who wound up ordering massive government intervention. The clarion of free trade and lawful immigration who

In saying goodbye, a rare moment to ponder what might have been different

leaves office with protectionism and isolationism resurgent. The would-be uniter with the wedgelike effect.

Though Bush has been "landslided" in the polls (a Bushism for "badly whipped"), he believes his stock will

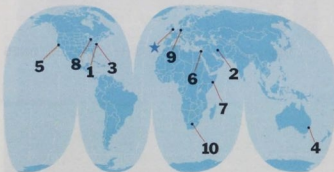
rise eventually. Consider: 52 months of prosperity between recessions. A situation in Iraq less calamitous than it once was. Even in the bungled response to Hurricane Katrina, Bush found a silver lining: the large number of people rescued from rooftops after the levees failed. "I think it's a good, strong record," he said.

In the banter we glimpsed again the man who won millions of votes in Texas and tens of millions nationwide. As he set his gaze on life outside "the klieg lights," Bush launched his Administration into the past tense, where he and history can ponder what might have been different.

—BY DAVID VON DREHLE

The World

10 ESSENTIAL STORIES

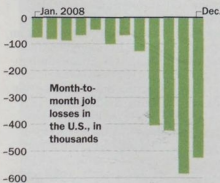


1 | Washington

Unemployment Soars

With more than 500,000 cuts in November and December, the U.S. lost 2.6 million jobs in 2008, led by layoffs in manufacturing, construction and retail. It was the highest figure since 1945. Unemployment stood at 7.2%, with 11.1 million

Americans out of work. Financial markets around the world tumbled after the news—viewed as another sign that the U.S. recession appeared no closer to ending—while President-elect Barack Obama said he would move quickly after taking office to pass a stimulus plan.



Numbers:

59%

Percentage drop in crude-oil prices from January 2008 to now; OPEC's profits are at their lowest in five years

\$50

Value of a hypothetical BlackBerry endorsement by Barack Obama, according to marketing experts

2 | Iran

Middlemen For Weapons And Cash

Intricate global networks have helped Iran elude sanctions against doing business in the U.S., according to recent reports. A Jan. 12 study from the Institute for Science and International Security says Iranian firms used Dubai- and Malaysia-based intermediaries to procure bomb-making materials from U.S. companies. Meanwhile, British bank Lloyds TSB admitted in a \$350 million U.S. court settlement on Jan. 9 that it had illegally stripped identifying information from bank records so that Iranian entities could do business with U.S. banks. Nine other banks remain under investigation.

3 | Washington

Burris Comes In from the Cold

Roland Burris, welcome to the U.S. Senate. Democrats backed away from their opposition to embattled Illinois Governor Rod Blagojevich's pick for the state's vacant seat, announcing that Burris had resolved a paperwork snafu and, barring GOP objections, would be sworn in within days.



Senate leaders had attempted to dissuade the governor from naming a new junior Senator, arguing that any appointee would be tainted by Blagojevich's arrest on charges that he conspired to sell or trade the seat for personal gain. Burris, who replaces Obama as the body's lone African-American member, has declined to say whether he plans to run for a full term in 2010.

4 | Australia

Shark Rampage! Maybe

Are there more sharks, more swimmers, or is it all just a coincidence? Three nonfatal attacks in two days sparked panicky headlines in Australia, where shark attacks kill an average of one person a year. (The last fatality was on Dec. 27.) The assaults raised fears that warmer weather and protection policies might be increasing shark populations.



5 | California

OAKLAND IS BURNING Hundreds of residents took to the streets on Jan. 7, smashing storefronts and setting fires to protest the fatal shooting of an unarmed African-American man by a white police officer on New Year's Day. The demonstrations turned to near riots as angry citizens confronted Oakland Mayor Ron Dellums on the steps of city hall. Police used tear gas to break up the crowds. Authorities are still deciding whether to file criminal charges against the officer, who has resigned.



6 | Gaza

NO END IN SIGHT With the battle in Gaza well into its third week, Israeli troops deepened their incursion into the Palestinian territory, entering the suburbs of densely populated Gaza City and engaging in street fighting with Palestinian militants. The offensive, which has claimed the lives of more than 950 Palestinians and 13 Israelis so far, has hardened attitudes on both sides: numerous civilian deaths have led to an outpouring of support for Hamas among Palestinians in the Fatah-controlled West Bank, while Israelis have united behind their military's efforts.

7 | Somalia

Pirate Booty

The Somali pirates who had held a Saudi oil tanker captive for nearly two months released the ship after receiving a reported \$3 million ransom on Jan. 9. All did not end well for the pirates, however: reports said several of them drowned when their boat capsized as they returned to shore. The tanker, the *Sirius Star*, is the largest ship ever hijacked and had been held since Nov. 15. It was carrying about \$100 million worth of crude oil.

8 | Detroit

The Big Three Get Plugged In

Perhaps hoping to turn attention away from their financial woes, carmakers unveiled a slew of new hybrid and electric vehicles at the 2009 North American International Auto Show in Detroit. BYD, a Chinese car company, was even on hand to present its own green models. While Toyota showed off its 2010 hybrid Prius and Honda made a splash with its 2010 hybrid Insight—both will hit showrooms this spring—many of Detroit's models were concept cars not intended for production anytime soon. Still, the prototypes from General Motors, Chrysler and Ford emphasized the carmakers' simple message—"We get it"—and were a sign that buyers may soon have more choices when it comes to fuel-efficient vehicles.



JEEP PATRIOT

An electric SUV concept car that charges by plugging into a standard wall outlet



CADILLAC CONVERJ

A luxury concept car with a 40-mile (65 km) electric range that gets high marks for its sleek lines

9 | Germany

Better Late than Never

After months of denying there was any need for a rescue, Chancellor Angela Merkel unveiled a \$66 billion stimulus package and a \$132 billion loan fund to help Europe's largest economy through its worst recession since World War II.



\$132 billion credit guarantee for struggling businesses



Family health-care bonuses of \$132 per child



\$3,300 payment for scrapping a car older than nine years and buying a new one



\$24 billion for public investment, mostly in education



\$660 million to boost innovation in the German auto industry



\$12 billion in proposed tax relief

10 | South Africa

Corruption in Chief?

With elections months away, Jacob Zuma, leader of South Africa's ruling party, may face a choice between the campaign trail and the courtroom. An appellate court has revived charges against him of corruption, fraud and racketeering. While Zuma is still the heavily favored presidential candidate, the case could complicate his run and any ensuing first term.

★ | What They're Buying in Britain:

A coalition of environmental activists has purchased a small plot of land earmarked for a third runway at London's Heathrow Airport and plans to sell it in several thousand chunks in a bid to snarl the proposed development. The group, which includes Oscar-winning actress Emma Thompson, says the expansion would force the demolition of homes and increase pollution.



\$3.6

BILLION

Value of spare parts that remain unused by the U.S. Army each year, according to congressional investigators

1,800

Number of bodies discovered in a mass grave in Poland; the corpses are thought to be those of long-missing German civilians killed during World War II

Pop Chart



Americans pay \$29 million to see **CLINT EASTWOOD** growl one last time



PRINCE HARRY makes totally out-of-character, offensive racial comments

SHOCKING

JOE THE PLUMBER sent to Israel as "war correspondent," suggests barring reporters from war zones



Lisa Bonet's child's name leaves Bronx Mowgli Wentz feeling inadequate



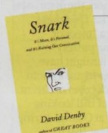
Obama down to final major pre-Inaugural decision



OBAMA stars in Spider-Man comic



Artist composes 80-page *Shining* tribute made up of nothing but the words "All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy"



New Yorker film critic David Denby writes book blasting snark. Whatever



After denying engagement rumors, **TOM BRADY** and **GISELE** up and get engaged. That's the rumor, at least

PREDICTABLE



Led Zeppelin absolutely, positively not reuniting. Black-T-shirt industry files for bailout



HOWIE MANDEL, host of inexplicable game show, branches out into inexplicable hidden-camera show



KANYE WEST says he wants to pose naked



AMY WINEHOUSE hubby files for divorce. This woman is on the market, people!



Winnie-the-Pooh, the sequel: Tigger on Ritalin, Eeyore on Prozac, Pooh gets gastric-bypass surgery



NICOLE KIDMAN agrees with us—Australia was unwatchable

SHOCKINGLY PREDICTABLE

A Brief History Of: Swearing In



AT NOON ON JAN. 20, BARACK OBAMA WILL PLACE HIS left hand on the Lincoln Bible, a velvet-bound tome purchased by a Supreme Court clerk for the Great Emancipator's swearing in. He will raise his right hand and repeat after Chief Justice John Roberts these words from Section 1 of the Second Article of the U.S. Constitution: "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

As a speech, it's short and to the point. As a symbol of the duties of public office, it's momentous. Bibles have been used to consecrate oaths for hundreds of years; they've had a role in the coronation of British monarchs since the 11th century. Swearing on Scripture in courts of law dates back to 300 B.C.

While most presidential oaths have been administered by the Chief Justice—Roger Taney swore in seven Commanders in Chief, a record—it's not required. Calvin Coolidge's father, a notary public, presided over one of his son's two oaths, in 1923. Presidents can choose to affirm instead of swear (although only one has: the devout Franklin Pierce). And most have added "So help me God" at the end, as George Washington is believed to have done, though historians now dispute it. Several Presidents, including George W. Bush, were sworn in on the Washington Bible, a 10-lb. volume belonging to a New York Freemasons' society. John Quincy Adams, to keep a barrier between church and state, was sworn in on a book of U.S. laws. Harry S. Truman used two Bibles in 1949—one, a gift from friends; the other, the one he used in his 1945 Inauguration. No matter what book or how many, an oath is an oath: the swearer is officially considered President from that moment on. —BY FRANCES ROMERO

The Lincoln Bible Obama will be the second President sworn in on it; the book is owned by the Library of Congress

I. [STATE YOUR NAME] ...

1789 George Washington takes the oath of office on the balcony of Federal Hall in



New York City. Historians debate whether he uttered the phrase "So help me God"

1801 Thomas Jefferson is the first President inaugurated in the nation's new Capitol

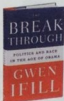
1853 Franklin Pierce chooses to affirm rather than swear, citing a prohibition against swearing in the Gospel of Matthew

1963 After John F. Kennedy's assassination in Dallas, Lyndon Johnson takes the oath on board Air Force One. For the



first time, the oath is administered by a woman, federal judge Sarah Hughes

THE SKIMMER



The Breakthrough: Politics and Race in the Age of Obama

By Gwen Ifill
Doubleday; 277 pages

GWEN IFILL'S BOOK ABOUT the rising generation of African-American politicians caused a mini-tempest even before the presses rolled. Critics questioned whether the PBS journalist chosen to moderate the vice-presidential debate could do so impartially, given the book's theme. In her introduction, she dismisses charges that *The Breakthrough* is a "piece of pro-Obama puffery"—although it might have been better to use a photo on the back cover different from one of Ifill looking adoringly at Obama during an interview. Ifill has interviewed virtually every African-American politician of note, tracking a generational shift away from leaders like Jesse Jackson who were schooled in the civil rights movement toward Ivy Leaguers like Massachusetts Governor Deval Patrick. And while scoundrels like Detroit's disgraced former mayor Kwame Kilpatrick are almost absent, there's much here to justify her assertion that "the bench is deep" with rising political stars—and her role as their enthusiastic chronicler.

—BY ANDREA SACHS

READ

SKIM

TOSS

Drawing Room

EDITED BY MATTHEW DIFFEE



**SIGNS THAT THE
ECONOMIC
RECOVERY
IS NOWHERE
IN SIGHT**

THE BEST TIP YOUR
FINANCIAL ADVISOR
GAVE YOU IS TO GO
SEE "SLUMDOG
MILLIONAIRE."



McDONALDS RE-
PLACES HAPPY MEAL
WITH CAUTIOUSLY
OPTIMISTIC MEAL

RAMEN NOODLES
NOW HAVE COOKING
INSTRUCTIONS
FOR STOVE,
MICROWAVE,
AND TRASH CAN
FIRE



**OBAMA'S NEW YEAR'S RESOLUTION,
WITH MINOR REVISIONS...**

* ^{daily} Quit ^{so much} Smoking.

*Unless my stimulus package tanks
or Dick Cheney refuses to leave

Platner



Milestones



Charles Morgan Jr.

BY THE TIME I JOINED THE American Civil Liberties Union board of directors in 1988, Charles Morgan Jr. had already departed, but his legacy there was larger than life. A native of Birmingham, Ala., the iconoclast, who died Jan. 8 at 78, fought the city's segregationist leaders in the early 1960s. His vigorous condemnation of the 1963 church bombing that killed

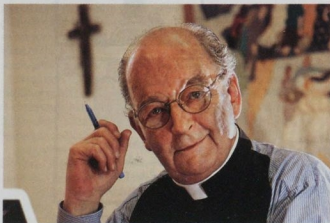
four young black girls led to the loss of his law practice.

Following that, Morgan opened the ACLU's Atlanta-based Southern Regional Office, which continues today as one of the nation's foremost defenders of voting rights. He notably argued *Reynolds v. Sims*, a landmark Supreme Court case that ended the rural South's dominance in state politics, and his office challenged the exclusion of blacks from

juries and represented black death-row inmates convicted by all-white panels. "The jury box and the ballot box," he said, "are the only places where citizens can tell their government what to do and the government has to listen."

After representing Muhammad Ali during the boxer's appeal of his draft-evasion conviction, Morgan became director of the ACLU Washington legislative office in 1972. The same stubbornness he had shown in Birmingham, though, also led to his departure from the ACLU. After a dispute with the group's leadership over whether his politically charged statements in a news article were clearly identified as personal rather than professional (the ACLU is nonpartisan), Morgan resigned in 1976. It was just another example of his uncompromising, unforgettable zeal. —BY SUSAN HERMAN

Herman is president of the ACLU



Richard John Neuhaus

FOR ALMOST HALF A CENTURY, the Rev. Richard John Neuhaus, who died on Jan. 8 at age 72, stood against the conventional view that religion has no place in public life. The son of a Lutheran pastor (as he too was for many years), he became an anti-

war and civil rights activist in the '60s and a leading religious conservative in the '70s, jolted into that role by the troubling moral implications he found in *Roe v. Wade*. In 1990 he converted to Roman Catholicism, though he thought he was beyond easy categorization, de-

scribing himself as "religiously orthodox, culturally conservative, politically liberal and economically pragmatic."

And while he was a classic example of the public intellectual who wrote deeply and widely, the Richard Neuhaus I knew was also much more. He was first and foremost a wise and kind man, whose social and political activism was not a "substitute for religion." On the contrary, he always insisted that the true meaning of politics could not be grasped apart from the understanding that there are more important things. That is how he was able to be such a happy warrior, and a generous and loving one at that. —BY MICHAEL CROMARTIE

Cromartie is vice president of the Ethics and Public Policy Center in Washington

DIED

Although she didn't receive as much fan mail as the famed Annette Funicello, **Cheryl Holdridge** had an angelic and charismatic smile that made her one of the most popular Mouseketeers on the 1950s TV show *The Mickey Mouse Club*. She was 64.



■ With her husband Claes Oldenburg, **Coosje van Bruggen** often created large outdoor sculptures like the 38-ft.-tall (12 m) flashlight she installed at the University of Nevada at Las Vegas. Van Bruggen was 66.

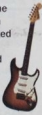
■ In addition to winning an Oscar in 1966 for his short film *Le Poulet*, **Claude Berri** helped craft the sensibility of French New Age cinema. He was known for his lush cinematography and neatly



resolved plots, and he worked as a producer for directors such as Roman Polanski and Milos Forman. Berri was 74.

■ He adored the family business and made others love it too. **Don Callender** persuaded his mother Marie Callender to open a chain of pie shops that eventually went national and sold for about \$80 million in 1986. He was 81.

■ Leo Fender designed the Stratocaster guitar, but in 1954, **Don Randall** created the name. Rock stars galore have been devoted to the instrument, which Randall's marketing acumen helped rocket to fame. He was 91.



■ As the falsetto in the gospel group the Swan Silvertones, which he founded, **Claude Jeter** influenced a number of performers with songs such as "Careless Soul" and "Mary Don't You



Weep." The latter has a lyric that inspired Simon and Garfunkel's famous tune "Bridge over Troubled Water." Jeter was 94.

MORGAN: THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDA; NEUHAUS: STEVE GRANITZ; FENDER: GARY FENDER; JETER: ADAM WATKINSON; RANDALL: PHOTOFEST



APPRECIATION

A Personal Loss.

The death of a courageous *TIME* reporter exposes the threats to press freedom in Sri Lanka

BY JYOTI THOTTAM/COLOMBO

IN THE LAST EDITORIAL THAT he wrote, Lasantha Wickrematunge lamented the loss of Sri Lanka's independent voices. "Much of the media has been bought, or cajoled and bullied into silence. Dozens of journalists are dead and others have been incarcerated without trial for months," he wrote in the Jan. 4 issue of his paper, the *Sunday Leader*. "Who then survives to provide the public with a contrarian view?"

Wickrematunge, 50, was one of this war-ravaged country's brave contrarians. For the past 14 years, his paper published cheeky editorials and outrageous exposés alleg-

ing corruption and self-dealing among politicians of every party and was openly critical of a government that demanded absolute loyalty from the media. On Jan. 8, he joined the long list of the silenced. He was driving to work when two men on motorcycles swerved in front of his car to block its path. Two others pulled up on either side, smashed the car's windows and shot him. Wickrematunge died of his injuries a few hours later. The four masked gunmen disappeared.

His death is a personal loss to *TIME*. Wickrematunge had been a freelance reporter for us since 2002, and I am the

Contrarian Wickrematunge took on government corruption

third South Asia bureau chief to benefit from his patient and perceptive explanations of Sri Lanka's complex history and politics. For 25 years, its government has been fighting a brutal armed separatist movement, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), in a conflict that has claimed more than 65,000 lives. The Tigers, who pioneered the use of suicide bombers, are agitating for a separate homeland for Sri Lanka's ethnic Tamils—a response to decades of suppression of the country's largest minority. A cease-fire agreement signed in 2002 raised hopes that the bombings, assassinations and terrorism had finally come to an end. But the Tigers and the government failed to reach a meaningful political compromise and returned to war. President Mahinda Rajapaksa has promised a "military solution" to the Tamil question. He is almost there. After months of intense fighting in the LTTE-controlled areas of the Tamil-majority north, the army has captured Kilinochchi, the rebels' administrative capital, and it is moving toward their last strongholds in the jungles around Mullaitivu.

Yet few Sri Lankan journalists have been permitted to report on these successes—or on their human toll. The war zone is all but off-limits to the media, one of the many security measures imposed by a government with little tolerance for dissent. "I ask this of all political parties, all media and all people's organizations," Rajapaksa said in a speech in 2006. "You decide whether you should be with a handful of terrorists or with the common man... You must clearly choose between these two sides."

Wickrematunge could not accept that kind of thinking.

Even a wartime government, he believed, ought to be held accountable to its citizens. Stories in the *Sunday Leader* raised questions about who benefited from military aircraft contracts, needed Sri Lankan Cabinet officials for extravagant trips abroad and, in one infamous exclusive, accused the Defense Minister of arranging false travel documents for a former LTTE leader who is now part of the government. The Defense Ministry has denied any involvement.

After the government's triumph in Kilinochchi, Wickrematunge feared that his enemies might feel emboldened to carry out the threats he had been receiving for months. "He felt the euphoria was at a high, and he felt vulnerable," his brother Lal told me.

There is no clear evidence pointing to whoever is responsible for his murder, but observers in Sri Lanka fear that there never will be. "One of the problems for many years has been the problem of impunity," says Robert Blake, the U.S. ambassador to Sri Lanka. "They always say that they're going to investigate these things, but nothing ever happens." The U.S. State Department has condemned the murder and called for a Sri Lankan government probe, adding to a chorus of similar requests from human-rights groups and other nations.

Three days after the murder, the *Sunday Leader* published an editorial written as if by Wickrematunge's spirit: "I hope my assassination will be seen not as a defeat of freedom but an inspiration for those who survive to step up their efforts." His mourners took up that call to action and turned his funeral procession into a mass protest through the streets of Colombo. The pen is powerful, but sometimes it isn't enough. ■



James

Poniewozik

Change vs. More of the Same. As after 9/11, the media will be covering a popular Prez in a crisis. Can they do better this time?

ON JAN. 20, CHANGE WILL COME TO Washington. To part of it, anyway. Barack Obama will take office, but another Washington fixture, the press that covered George W. Bush, will still be there: a whole roster of newly minted network White House correspondents, yes, but the same apparatus behind them.

Come Jan. 21 and beyond—after nearly three months of offering the President-elect free advice and producing stories about his struggles to choose a puppy and keep his BlackBerry—the press will need to cover the fact, not the idea, of President Obama. As long as we're asking what he might do differently, it's only fair to ask the same of the media that cover him. Has the press learned anything from the past eight years? And if so, will those lessons stay learned?

We have to go back, as with so much concerning Bush, to Sept. 11, 2001. After 9/11 the press failed in some big ways. Not everywhere, not everyone and not always. But there was too credulous reporting and cheerleading—from the erroneous WMD speculation to the cable-news screens festooned with American flags to the anemic press conference before the Iraq war in which Bush fielded hardballs like "How is your faith guiding you?"

It wasn't just bias, fear or jingoism at work. The 9/11 attacks brought with them an economic squeeze, which meant greater pressure not to alienate viewers or advertisers by going against the flow. White House press secretary Ari Fleischer warned people to "watch what they say," Bill Maher lost his job on *Politically Incor-*

rect (but later moved to HBO) after calling American air strikes cowardly, and CNN issued memos to "balance" reports of civilian casualties with references to the deaths on 9/11.

In the popular narrative (popular among the press, anyway), the media found a tough, skeptical voice after Hurricane Katrina in 2005. It's fairer to say, though, that the public—faced with ob-



jective evidence of government failure—gave the media permission to find that voice. MSNBC, which fired liberal Phil Donahue in 2003—after a network report called him a "difficult public face for NBC in a time of war"—now employs Rachel Maddow and Keith Olbermann.

The economic crisis could be the Obama Administration's 9/11. You have a new President whom Americans want to succeed—no one wanted to be killed by terrorists then, and no one wants a depression now. You have a leader with sky-high approval ratings (which the media are monetizing with all those commemorative issues and Inaugural Ball broadcasts). You have a lot of unknowns: then, about the capabilities of al-Qaeda, now, about how you can stimulate your way out of recession.

Finally, you have media businesses

laying off workers or going under in an even worse economy—brought on by the very crisis at the top of the news—which means fewer ad dollars and, potentially, peril for anyone who loses market share by seeming out of step with the times. It's easier to be bold when your job is secure.

The Obama team, meanwhile, seems to have learned from Bush about dealing with the press. During the campaign, Obama, like Bush, exercised tight message control, limited press availability and disregarded old-media courtship rituals. Incoming press secretary Robert Gibbs pointedly told the *New York Times*

Magazine that Obama never sat down with the *Washington Post* editorial board. "You could go to Cedar Rapids and Waterloo [Iowa] and understand that people aren't reading the *Washington Post*."

Unlike the Bushies, the Obama folks bypass the press with a smile, not a sneer. But the notion that a new Administration has to "feed the beast" in the pressroom may no longer be true. Politically, Bush didn't much suffer from writing off the "reality based" media. (Historically, maybe; hence his last-minute media barnstorming of late.)

Like Bush, Obama has ways of going around the press corps. Whereas Dick Cheney would call in

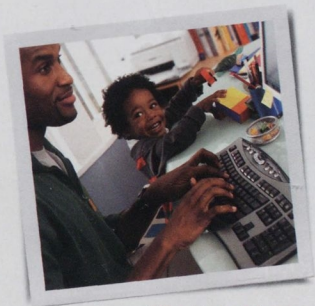
to Rush Limbaugh, Obama posts weekly addresses on YouTube, and Gibbs answers questions via video on Change.gov. This media strategy not only bypasses the "filter" (to replace it with the Administration's own filter), it also gives the audience a feeling of investment in the new Administration. Which makes you that much more of a buzz kill if you're the one second-guessing it.

None of which is to say the media need to pick fights with Obama just to prove their relevance. But they will have to work all the harder to cover the Obama Administration for what it is and not just what their audience wants to hear. For all the controversy over whether the press has a political bias, just as insidious is the bias in favor of being liked—and keeping an audience. Amid all the change, this is one thing that stays the same. ■

The notion that a new Administration has to 'feed the beast' in the pressroom may no longer be true. Obama has ways of going around the press corps

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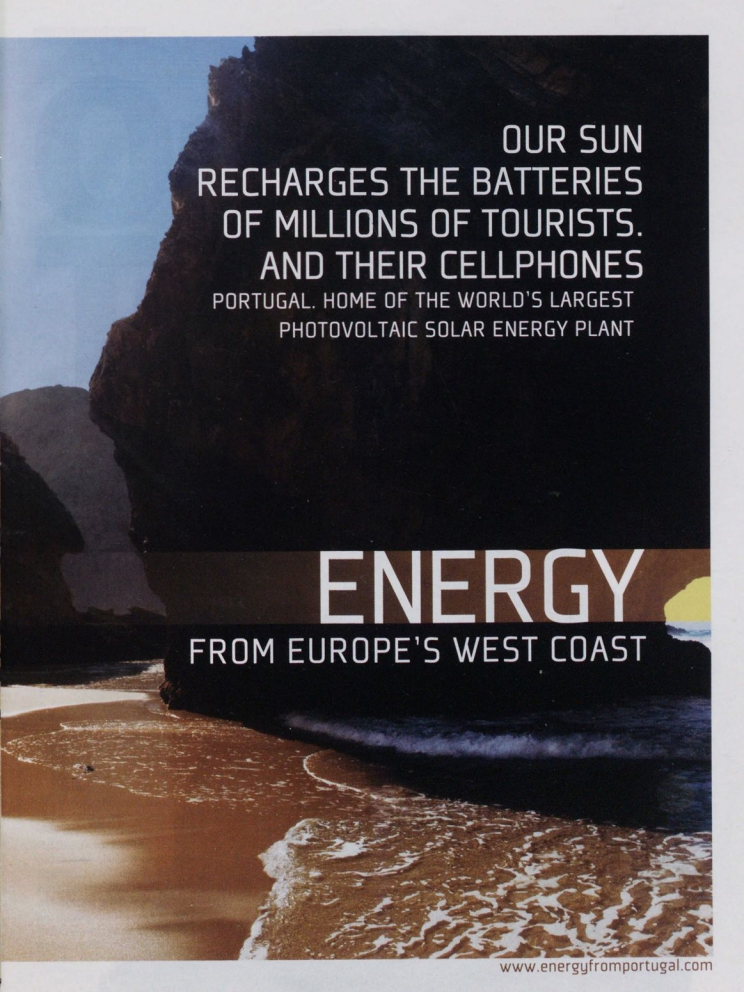
by Nick Knight

Portugal

Europe's West Coast



QR
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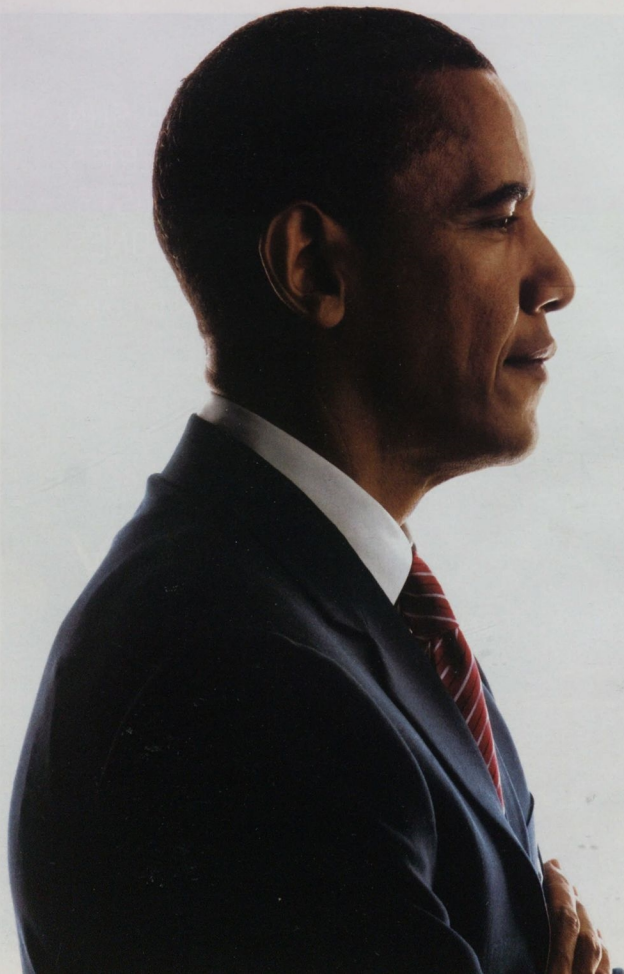


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ENERGY

FROM EUROPE'S WEST COAST



One. Trillion. Dollars.

That's how much money Barack Obama says is needed to kick-start the economy. How he spends it could determine the fate of his presidency

BY MICHAEL GRUNWALD

JOHN MAYNARD KEYNES, THE TEND-iest dead economist of this apocalyptic moment, was the godfather of government stimulus. Keynes had the radical idea that throwing money at recessions through aggressive deficit spending would resuscitate flatlined economies—and he wasn't too particular about where the money was thrown. In the depths of the Depression, he suggested that the Treasury could “fill old bottles with banknotes, bury them at suitable depths in disused coal mines” then sit back and watch a money-mining boom create jobs and prosperity. “It would, indeed, be more sensible to build houses

and the like,” he wrote, but “the above would be better than nothing.”

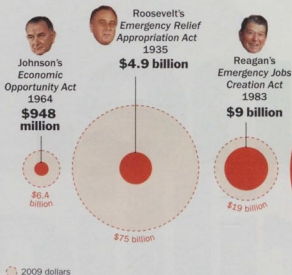
As President-elect Barack Obama prepares to throw money at the current downturn—a stimulus package starting at about \$800 billion, plus the second \$350 billion chunk of the financial bailout—we all really do seem to be Keynesians now. Just about every expert agrees that pumping \$1 trillion into a moribund economy will rev up the ethereal goods-and-services engine that Keynes called “aggregate demand” and stimulate at least some short-term activity, even if it is all wasted on money pits.

But Keynes was also right that there

would be more sensible ways to spend it. There would also be less sensible ways to spend it. A trillion dollars' worth of bad ideas—sprawl-inducing highways and bridges to nowhere, ethanol plants and pipelines that accelerate global warming, tax breaks for overleveraged McMansion builders and burdensome new long-term federal entitlements—would be worse than mere waste. It would be smarter to buy every American an iPod, a set of Ginsu knives and 600 Subway foot-longs.

It would be smarter still to throw all that money at things we need to do anyway, which is the goal of Obama's upcoming American Recovery and Reinvestment Plan. It will include a mix of tax cuts, aid to beleaguered state and local governments, and spending to address needs ranging from food stamps to computerized health records to bridge repairs to broadband networks to energy-efficiency retrofits, all designed to save or create 3 million to 4 million jobs by the end of 2010. Obama has said speed is his top priority because the faster Washington injects cash into the financial bloodstream, the better it stands to help avert a multiyear slump with double-digit unemployment and deflation. But he also wants to use the stimulus to advance his long-term priorities: reducing energy use and carbon emissions, cutting middle-class taxes, upgrading neglected infrastructure, reining in health-care costs and eventually reducing the budget deficits that exploded under George W. Bush. Obama's goal is to exploit this crisis in the best sense of the word, to start pursuing his vision of a greener, fairer, more competitive, more sustainable economy.

Unfortunately, while 21st century Washington has demonstrated an impressive ability to spend money quickly, it has yet to prove that it can spend money wisely. And the chum of a 1 with 12 zeros is already creating a feeding frenzy for the ages. Lobbyists for shoe companies, zoos, catfish farmers, mall owners, airlines, public broadcasters, car dealers and everyone else who can afford their retainers are lining up for a piece of the stimulus. States that embarked on raucous spending and tax-cutting sprees when they were flush are begging for bailouts now that they're broke. And politicians are dusting off their unfunded mobster museums, waterslides and other pet projects for rebranding as shovel-ready infrastructure investments. As Obama's aides scramble to assemble something effective and transformative as well as politically achievable, they acknowledge the tension



How Big a Booster Shot?

Presidents have often proposed spending heavily to revive the U.S. economy, but Obama's plan would dwarf any previous stimulus measure. Will Obama spend in the right places?

between his desires for speed and reform. "We're living that tension every day," an adviser tells *TIME*.

In this four-alarm economic emergency (nearly 2 million jobs have vanished in four months), it's easy to forget that *shovel-ready* doesn't necessarily mean *shovel-worthy*. Many projects are shovel-ready now only because they failed to clear the spectacularly low bar Congress set for pork in the past. Even if we're freaking out about today—and we should be—we can't afford to leverage tomorrow to build the infrastructure equivalent of buried banknotes, not when the deficit is a record \$1.2 trillion and the debt a staggering \$10.6 trillion. A depression would make both problems worse—tax revenues plunge when incomes plunge—but every public dollar we spend on depression avoidance also plunges us deeper into our hole. It's a bit galling to hear Republican leaders warn that Obama wants to spend money borrowed from our children when their own appetite for pork and tax breaks helped double the debt during the Bush years, but their hypocrisy does not make them wrong. If we're going to spring for another trillion, we need real returns on our investment.

That will require more than speedy spending. It will require a quick over-

haul of Washington's spending priorities and spending processes. In other words, speedy reform.

Not Just a Deal—a New Deal

OBAMA HASN'T YET RELEASED DETAILS OF his plan, so the debate has so far focused on the overall dollar amount (liberals want more, conservatives less) and general make-up (liberals want fewer tax cuts, conservatives more) rather than specific strategies for priming the pump. But the clichés are true: Good—or the devil—will be in the details.

For example, if you want to upgrade infrastructure, there's a big difference between fixing and building. When you fix a road, the dollars you spend reduce your need for future road repairs. When you build a road, you increase your need for future road repairs. Repairs are also quicker to get moving than new construction, and the Federal Highway Administration has calculated that repairs create 9% more jobs per dollar spent. And while repairs eliminate potholes and other problems that cost motorists time and money, new construction tends to produce rural or ex-urban sprawl roads that promote speculative development, overstretch municipal services, lengthen commutes and increase gasoline consumption and emissions.

**Just How
Much Is
\$1 trillion?**



The Treasury could give \$3,272.67 to every man, woman and child in the U.S.



You could treat every person in the world to one Frappuccino a day for 37 straight days



You could buy about 1,000 boxes of Girl Scout Cookies for every person in the U.S.



Obama's
American Recovery and Reinvestment Plan
2009-10

\$800 billion+

Where the money would go



Individual Tax Cuts

For those making less than \$200,000 a year, Obama proposes a tax break of up to \$500 for individuals and \$1,000 for families



Business Tax Cuts

Firms would get more tax breaks for equipment and property purchases, and some companies may recoup taxes paid in flush years against more recent losses



Infrastructure Spending

Obama envisions immediately laying out \$25 billion for infrastructure projects, which he estimates would save or create 1 million jobs



Green Investments

Obama would invest \$150 billion over 10 years in clean and renewable energy and provide funding for manufacturers to improve their energy efficiency



Aid to States

With state budgets facing deficits, Obama proposes spending as much as \$200 billion to help pay for Medicaid and education

Of course, bike lanes, electric buses and light-rail extensions are even more efficient than road repairs when it comes to fighting global warming, volatile gas prices and our addiction to foreign oil; transit projects also create 9% more jobs. Then again, transit projects like high-speed rail lines and subway stations tend to take more time to build than roads or repairs. And while a recent study calculated that the average dollar spent on infrastructure ricochets into \$1.59 worth of short-term growth—a bit better than aid to states or broad-based tax cuts and a lot better than tax cuts for businesses or investors—increasing food-stamp or

unemployment benefits packs even more bang for the buck.

The point is, specifics really matter. And when specifics get left to Congress and the states, they tend to get screwed up. Politicians love to cut ribbons for new roads; repairs don't have the same bringing-home-the-bacon oomph. Most state transportation departments have become virtual asphalt factories, and most states have laws preventing the use of federal transportation dollars for anything but roads. Yet Congress keeps writing the states blank checks, lavishing the most cash on the ones that do the most driving and paving, actually mandating that federal officials "shall in no way infringe on the sovereign rights of the states to determine which projects shall be federally financed." It's our money, their choices. The result is that Congress does a terrific job of spreading dollars around the country like peanut butter but a lousy job of identifying or promoting national priorities. "There's no performance measures, no environmental or economic analysis," says the Brookings Institution's Robert Puentes. "It's just about dividing up the spoils."

That's one reason our critical infrastructure is in such critical condition. It's crazy to pretend that all airports are equally deserving of renovation funds

when New York City and Chicago have the worst bottlenecks. We shouldn't even think about new bridges in rural Alaska or rural anywhere when a quarter of our existing bridges are structurally deficient. Before Hurricane Katrina, the Army Corps of Engineers spent more money in Louisiana than in any other state—most of it on useless and destructive navigation projects with influential godfathers in Congress—but it never completed those levees around New Orleans. Now the stimulus could include forward-looking efforts to help rebuild the city's natural and man-made defenses—or more of the same projects that would increase the risk of another expensive as well as tragic catastrophe. It will depend on who is calling the shots.

Obama cannot expect to handpick every item that ends up in the stimulus. Even the New Deal required a deal. But the New Deal was also new. And it's folly to expect the same dysfunctional spending habits that got us into this mess to get us out of it.

The Way Out

IT'S NOT THAT SPEED AND SIZE AREN'T IMPORTANT. We're in a death spiral: businesses are shedding workers at a record pace, which saps consumer spending, which leads to more layoffs, and so on. The pub-

While 21st century Washington has demonstrated an impressive ability to spend money quickly, it has yet to prove that it can spend money wisely

A stack of \$100 bills worth \$1 trillion would rise 789 miles—equal to 144 Mount Everests end over end



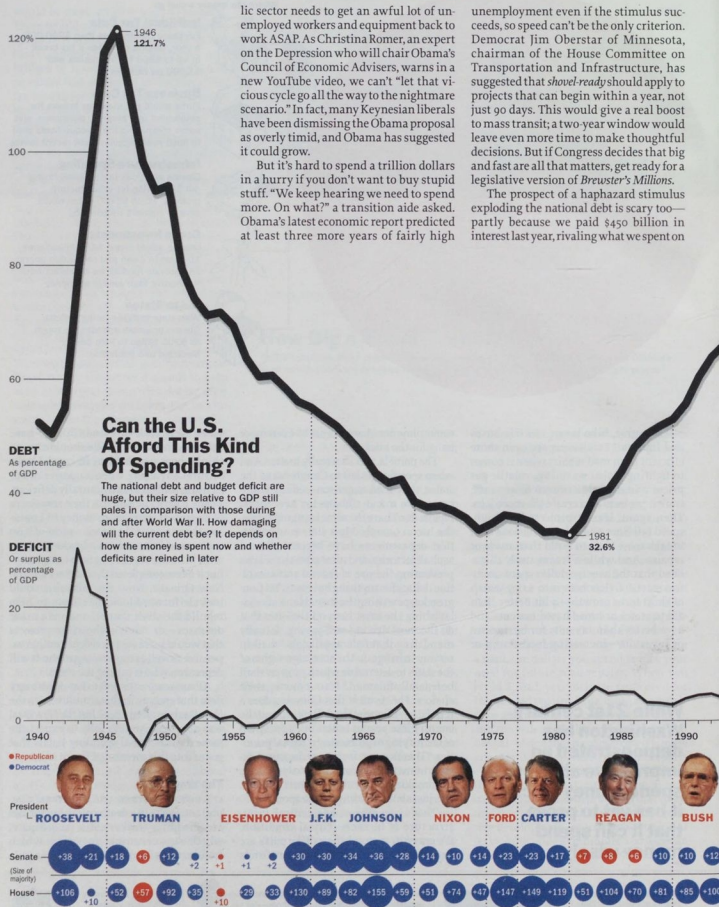
You could purchase 13 pairs of Birkenstock sandals—in effect, a lifetime of shoes—for everyone living in North, Central and South America. That is, while supplies last



You could cover every NFL player's salary, on all 32 teams, for the next 313 years



JOHNSON: AP; ROBERTY: KIM; TIME LIFE PICTURELIBRARY; BEALAN; BOB D'AMICO: AP; BISH: J. SCOTT AP/WIDEWORLD; AP; OBAMA: JASON MERRITT; EVERETT COLLECTION; WALTER: GETTY IMAGES; KATRINA: MANTON BRANDS; AP/WIDEWORLD



lic sector needs to get an awful lot of unemployed workers and equipment back to work ASAP. As Christina Romer, an expert on the Depression who will chair Obama's Council of Economic Advisers, warns in a new YouTube video, we can't "let that vicious cycle go all the way to the nightmare scenario." In fact, many Keynesian liberals have been dismissing the Obama proposal as overly timid, and Obama has suggested it could grow.

But it's hard to spend a trillion dollars in a hurry if you don't want to buy stupid stuff. "We keep hearing we need to spend more. On what?" a transition aide asked. Obama's latest economic report predicted at least three more years of fairly high

unemployment even if the stimulus succeeds, so speed can't be the only criterion. Democrat Jim Oberstar of Minnesota, chairman of the House Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure, has suggested that *shovel-ready* should apply to projects that can begin within a year, not just 90 days. This would give a real boost to mass transit; a two-year window would leave even more time to make thoughtful decisions. But if Congress decides that big and fast are all that matters, get ready for a legislative version of *Brewster's Millions*.

The prospect of a haphazard stimulus exploding the national debt is scary too—partly because we paid \$450 billion in interest last year, rivaling what we spent on

On the other hand, some initiatives have negative tails—spending money now saves it later. That's one reason Obama is so keen on energy efficiency; retrofitting 75%

On the other hand, some initiatives have negative tails—spending money now saves it later. That's one reason Obama is so keen on energy efficiency; retrofitting 75%

But the most important stimulus principle will be change. Obama campaigned for it and won a mandate to pursue it. If he can make sure every initiative promotes his top priorities—reducing our dependence on fossil fuels, investing in our future competitiveness and rebalancing our economic playing field in a way Joe the Plumber would call spreading the wealth—the stimulus can succeed even if it fails to stimulate.

SO WHERE SHOULD THE MONEY GO? AND how can we make sure it gets there? In all three elements of Obama's plan, there is great promise as well as potential pitfalls.

But when will there be a better time? We should bail out the public sector, but only with serious strings attached; otherwise, we'll repeat the bailout of the financial sector, which pocketed the federal handouts and kept doing whatever it pleased. Bailouts should be reserved for states and communities facing the most drastic contractions—and even those shouldn't be rewarded for frittering away surpluses on sunny day tax cuts and race-to-the-bottom subsidies designed to lure out-of-state businesses. States shouldn't be rewarded for keeping their fiscal houses in order by stiffing Medicaid programs either.

The best way to boost the economy by giving out money is to give it to people who can't afford to save it. That's why food stamps work so well as a stimulus

for assurances that states won't knock more families off their rolls. And his advisers hope to direct the aid where it's needed most—a tough sell in the Senate, where every state has equal power. But Obama should drive a hard bargain. He could provide more aid to states that promote energy efficiency through building codes and incentives for utilities. He could funnel aid directly to transit agencies and metropolitan governments, which tend to be more progressive than states. He could take Senate minority leader Mitch McConnell's advice and give loans instead of grants, which would both help the Treasury down the road and encourage states to make wise investments. He could require states that receive bailouts to promote wind and solar, expand health coverage or buy fuel-efficient police cars. If they don't want to, they don't have to take handouts. The bottom line should be: federal money, federal priorities.

Obama's second strategy will be giving money to people—through tax cuts as well as food stamps, jobless benefits and health care for the unemployed. Direct transfers are the fastest way to ship money out of the Treasury, but they don't provide stimulus if they don't get spent. That's what happened last year to a \$168 billion stimulus package that relied on income tax rebates—remember when \$168 billion was a big deal?—but foundered when many recipients hoarded the cash or paid down credit-card debt. It turns out that smart personal-finance decisions make for a lousy stimulus.

It also turns out that the best way to boost the economy by giving away money is to give it to people who can't afford to save it. That's why food stamps work so well as a stimulus. And that's why Obama is pushing a permanent \$500-per-person credit on payroll taxes for every worker making less than \$200,000 a year. But his rationale for broad-based relief goes beyond stimulus: he has repeatedly promised a fairer tax code that would make work pay for everyone, and this might be his last chance to play with an extra \$1 trillion.

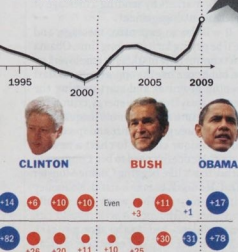


The kids have to pay

Somebody has to foot the bill someday, and while economic growth can reduce the burden, future generations are being saddled with a heavy load.

Foreign governments and investors finance a big share of U.S. debt. If they lose confidence or simply become tapped out, U.S. interest rates could jump

Coupled with the Fed's aggressive attempts to boost the economy, the big stimulus could eventually spark inflation, a run on the dollar or both.



The main downside of tax cuts and benefit increases will be their tails; pity the politician who tries to take away what he's already given. That's why the best test of any cash stimulus will be whether it makes sense on its merits. Obama's aides have already dropped a proposal to give businesses a \$3,000 credit for every job they create—an invitation to game the system. But payroll-tax relief will reward work and put money in the hands of the people who need it most. And there's no time like the present.

The rest of Obama's stimulus will be New Deal-style government spending on needed goods and services, often with modern twists. That means smart meters and weatherization programs to prevent wasting energy; transmission lines and solar panels to promote alternative energy; green school buildings and sewage-treatment plants; wetlands restoration in the Everglades and coastal Louisiana; repairs for aging dams, bridges and airports—plus broadband networks, research, job training and, as Obama has suggested, anything else that seems like a good idea. This is an ideal time for the government to spend money on infrastructure, because labor and equipment are cheap. And improving our shameful infrastructure will improve our competitiveness.

The ideal focus of infrastructure spending would be green projects that help reduce our addiction to fossil fuels, but there's only so much of that ready to go. Nathaniel Keohane of the Environmental Defense Fund started ticking off his wish list in an interview: \$1 billion for homeowners to install energy-efficient windows, \$750 million for trucks to use fuel-efficient equipment, \$600 million for smart boiler controls. "Still \$998 billion to go," he said with a sigh. "Really, I spent time on this, and it's a reach to get to \$100 billion." Obama and his team are starting to sound irked by demands for more. Why retrofit only 75% of federal buildings? Uh, it's not exactly cost-effective to retrofit a particle accelerator. What about more high-speed rail? Wonderful, if there were more projects ready to go. Why stop at weatherizing 2 million homes? Sorry, there are only so many guys who know how to use caulk guns.

It will be tempting for Obama to let Congress and the states fill the gaps with their own wish lists. But as Obama adviser Larry Summers has warned, a poorly designed stimulus "can have worse side effects than the disease that is to be cured." Handouts for clean coal, ethanol and other misguided energy technologies would be worse than inaction. With apologies to Keynes, incentives to "build houses and the like" could help inflate the same bubble that burst last year. And infrastructure spending has been

Where the Jobs Might Be

Obama's recovery plan aims to slow the rising unemployment rate, now at 7.2%, by creating or saving jobs across several industries

| | |
|---------|------------------------------------|
| 678,000 | Construction |
| 604,000 | Retail trade |
| 499,000 | Leisure and hospitality |
| 408,000 | Manufacturing |
| 345,000 | Professional and business services |
| 244,000 | Government |
| 240,000 | Education and health services |
| 214,000 | Financial activities |
| 158,000 | Wholesale trade |
| 99,000 | Other services |
| 98,000 | Transportation and warehousing |
| 50,000 | Information |
| 26,000 | Mining |
| 11,000 | Utilities |

3,675,000

Total number of jobs his plan hopes to create or save by the end of 2010*

one area where Congress has consistently exhibited an impressive bipartisan determination to do the wrong thing.

These days, House Transportation and Infrastructure chairman Oberstar is flacking a Rebuild America plan that pays new respect to transit, but it still puts highways first; you can't expect too much reform from a guy who's served as a staffer or member of Capitol Hill's prime pork committee since 1963, a guy who earmarked a \$3 million highway in the last transportation bill to relieve the notorious congestion between County Road 565 in Hoyt Lakes, Minn., and the intersection of Highways 21 and 70 in Babbitt. Meanwhile, states like Alabama, Kansas and Texas have been releasing lists of shovel-ready transportation projects that are dramatically skewed toward out-of-the-way sprawl roads. Missouri's list was all roads, none of them in St. Louis. Obama has vowed to reject earmarks, but if Congress simply passes cash to the states according to the usual formulas—and it will unless Obama intervenes—America is in for yet another festival of asphalt. There is even talk of waiving the regular cost-sharing requirements for local and state governments, an excellent way to make sure they green-light oinkers they would never pay for themselves.

The obvious solution would be some kind of independent arbiter to establish performance measures and evaluate stimulus projects for timeliness and tails as well as competitiveness and carbon. During his campaign, Obama proposed an infrastructure bank that wouldn't finance projects that don't produce economic or environmental returns. But Oberstar hasn't put in 45 years just to cede power to a commission. "It's like turning around a battleship," Puentes says. "And we just don't have the time."

The Psychology of Stimulus

SO THE SCRAMBLE IS ON. THE BIG SPLASH water park—complete with a gym and "quality meeting space"—might sound like a waste of \$22 million, but it would provide a nice stimulus for the people of Gastonia, N.C. The travel industry wants a \$10 million loan to promote the U.S. as a destination, a tougher job these days. To the American Apparel & Footwear Association, this crisis only highlights the need to eliminate import tariffs on shoes. "Building self-esteem is critical," explains Matt Rubel, CEO of the parent company of Payless, "and not having a new pair of shoes—you know, having a pair that's tattered and doesn't fit—that does not create good self-esteem."

Let's face it: fiscal stimulus is a frustratingly inexact science. Nobody knows precisely what it will do in the short term, and in the long term, it isn't that different from any other government spending, except that the point of the spending can be the spending itself. As always, there will be winners and losers; it's impossible to stimulate everyone equally. In two years, if the recession is over, skeptics will claim it would have ended regardless of the stimulus. If it lingers, proponents will credit the stimulus for preventing a drearier outcome. As with the first round of the financial bailout, its most important short-term effect will probably be psychological, calming markets by sending a message of government engagement.

It will be an expensive message, and we'll be paying for it for a long time. Obama can't control how markets or employers react, but he can use the opportunity to start keeping promises and start moving the country away from dirty energy, crumbling infrastructure and economic inequality. If he trades those goals for size and speed, he'll blow a unique chance to chart a new direction. He doesn't need to beg Congress to spend; that's like begging Cookie Monster to eat. He needs to take a stand: No money without reform. That won't just rebuild consumer confidence; it will rebuild citizen confidence too. As the shoe guy said, at a time like this, self-esteem is critical.

—WITH REPORTING BY SOPHIA YAN ■

*Sources: "The Job Impact of the American Recovery and Reinvestment Plan," by Christina Romer and Jared Bernstein; "The Economic Impact of a \$450 Billion Fiscal Stimulus Package," by Mark Canale, *Mood's Economy.com*, Nov. 28, 2008



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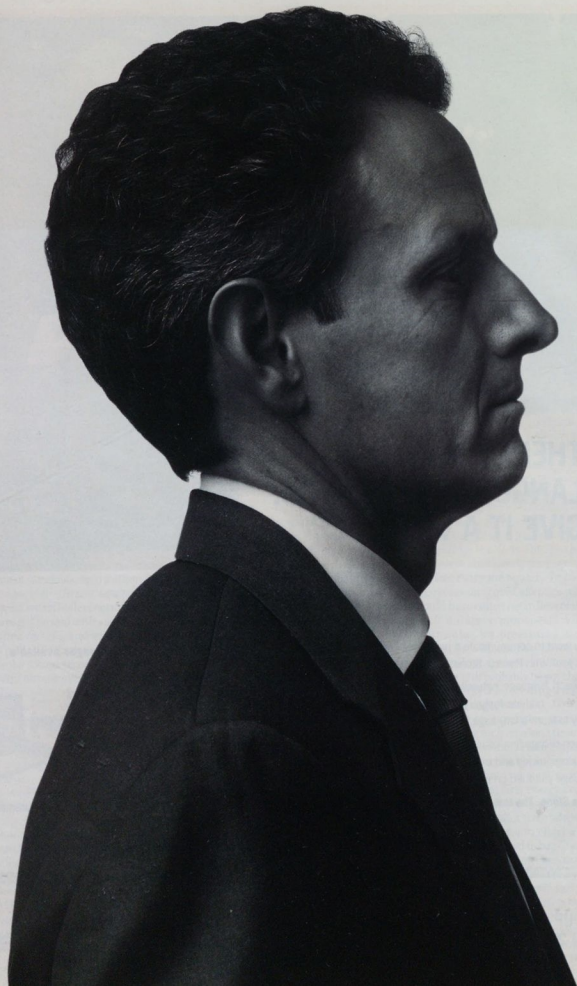


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No Time To Waste

More than any other official, new Treasury chief Timothy Geithner bears the burden of rescuing the U.S. economy. Is he the right man for the job?

BY BILL POWELL

EVERY YEAR AT THE END OF August, the high priests of the U.S. financial system—the board of governors and staff of the Federal Reserve—gather at a remote resort high in the mountains near Jackson Hole, Wyo., and there, amid the Tetons, listen to lectures by invited economists on a variety of topics, hoping the fresh air and proximity to genuine cowboy bars might lead to clear thinking and sound economic policy.

A good time is usually had by all—except when the global financial markets are sending out warnings of extreme stress to come. By August 2007, the storm known as the subprime crisis had been gathering for much of the year, and inside the Fed, Timothy F. Geithner, president of the New York Federal Reserve Bank and a vice chairman of the Federal Open Market Committee (which sets interest-rate policy), had quietly been raising red flags among his colleagues. Earlier that month, the European Central Bank had startled traders by pumping close to 100 billion euros into the short-term credit markets—an unexpectedly massive intervention. It was as if the global financial system had had an angina attack, a brief, unexpectedly painful episode that signaled what a few senior Fed officials were beginning to fear: a full-blown economic heart attack might well be coming. During the Jackson Hole meetings, Geithner pressed the view that Fed policy was behind the curve; the problem in the credit markets was big and

likely to get worse, and the Fed needed to get out in front of it, to err on the side of being aggressive.

It wasn't a popular view back then. "He had taken a lot of heat" for the position inside the Fed, a colleague says. Some regional Fed presidents thought he was excessively gloomy. As an insider put it, they thought Geithner had been captured by his constituents—the heads of the largest banks and investment firms in New York, most of whom were leveraged to the hilt and deeply vulnerable to turmoil in the mortgage-backed-securities market. But Geithner's view prevailed that week with his boss, Ben Bernanke. A few weeks later, the Fed slashed its key interest rate by half a percentage point, and soon it was trying to figure out other, less conventional ways to deal with the growing crisis in the global credit markets. It has been frantically trying to contain that crisis ever since.

It now falls to Geithner to lead the way out of this mess. As Barack Obama's nominee to be Secretary of the Treasury, Geith-

ner will be tugging on the economic levers himself—levers that are, thanks to outgoing Secretary Hank Paulson, far more powerful than they had been. Colleagues say Geithner privately acknowledges that the U.S. economy is still sinking fast and the root cause of the problem—the housing bust and ensuing credit crunch—is still very much with the nation. Critics will ask at his confirmation hearing how the incoming Administration plans to prevent things from getting even worse. His personal finances may be called into question, in light of the revelation that he initially failed to pay part of his taxes while working for the International Monetary Fund in 2001 and 2002.

All of that may force Geithner, 47, to do some self-evaluation. Along with Paulson and Bernanke, Geithner has been one of the key players overseeing the bailout of the banking industry. Some of the trio's decisions—like not rescuing Lehman Brothers in mid-September—have come under criticism on Wall Street and Capitol Hill for being hesitant and reactive. Associates say Geithner doesn't necessarily disagree with the charge that the government's response "has had an ad hoc, seat-of-the-pants quality to it," as a senior investment banker in the middle of things puts it. That's one reason Geithner and the rest of the Obama economic team have indicated that they plan to move more aggressively, on an even broader scale, than the government has to date. Geithner has declined publicly to put a number on just how

Geithner has let it be known that the Administration will err on the high side. The stimulus package will be big

large a stimulus package the new Administration will seek after Obama takes office on Jan. 20. But associates say he has been emphatic about one thing: the Administration should err on the high side. The package should be big. How big is big? "Big enough," he has told friends. In this case, he believes, "prudence requires scale."

Groomed for Success

MOST U.S. TREASURY SECRETARIES COME to the job after long careers on Wall Street (Paulson, Robert Rubin), in industry (John Snow, Paul O'Neill) or in politics (Lloyd Bentsen). Geithner, born 14 days after Obama, will, by contrast, be one of the youngest Treasury Secretaries ever, and he will land in the office at one of the most critical junctures in U.S. economic history. But his elevation to the top job at Treasury has long been expected. Geithner has been doing older people's jobs for years. I first met him 18 years ago, when we were both based in Tokyo. He was 29 years old then and was the deputy financial attaché at the U.S. embassy. We hit it off, as he did with many of the expat journalists in town: he is smart but not arrogantly so and has a wry sense of humor.

Japan was the right place at the right time for Geithner because Tokyo had become a critical post for any U.S. government official. The Soviet Union had collapsed, the Cold War was over, and there was great interest in the alternative Asian economic models that seemed to be performing better than the U.S.'s. Bilateral-trade issues had suddenly become what arms-control talks had been to the Cold War. Geithner made his bones in the U.S. Treasury by helping negotiate a comprehensive deal with Japan that, against all expectations, opened Tokyo's financial-services sector to foreign companies for the first time.

Those days in Tokyo underpin Geithner's current worldview. Remember: Japan went from boom to bust because a credit-fueled housing bubble burst. Sound familiar? The result was Japan's infamous Lost Decade of little to no economic growth. And it was, in part, the withdrawal of Japanese capital from the region that helped set off the Asian crisis in 1997 and '98—when countries from Thailand to Russia to Indonesia to South Korea devalued their currencies and saw their economies crash. The lesson for Geithner was clear. "From my time in Japan and then dealing with the crisis of the late '90s," he once told me, "I got a deep conviction: you don't want to dither."

When Bill Clinton entered the White House, Geithner had already returned to Washington, where he worked directly for



Brain trust Geithner, chief Administration economist Christina Romer and Summers

Geithner is loyal to Paulson, but that doesn't mean 'he would have done things exactly the way [Paulson] did them.'

Larry Summers during the Asian crisis. Summers was Deputy Treasury Secretary at the time and then succeeded Rubin. Now the two will be reunited: Summers will head the National Economic Council at the White House while Geithner runs Treasury, Washington being what it is—even in the midst of an economic crisis, people gossip—there has been much speculation about who will call the economic shots in the new Administration: Summers or Geithner?

The fact is, it's often hard to tell where one man stops and the other begins. "They had instant chemistry when they started working together in the 1990s," says a mutual friend. But the question of who will have the most influence on policy is still a fair one. Summers is famously rumpiled, brilliant and occasionally rude. During the Asian crisis, he woke up his Japanese counterpart when he found out the Tokyo government was trying to arrange a bailout fund outside the purview of the International Monetary Fund and the U.S. Treasury. "I thought you were my friend!" he told the startled Japanese bureaucrat. Summers was one of the most brilliant economists of his generation at Harvard, getting tenure at age 28—the ultimate economic whiz kid.

Geithner, by contrast, always looks freshly pressed, even dapper. He admits he didn't care about economics during his undergraduate days at Dartmouth. "I think I took one course," he says. It is easy, given his relatively young age and his

background, to view Geithner as the perpetual understudy to Summers' intellectual alpha dog. But friends of both say that oversimplifies their relationship. "Tim is whip-smart and has never hesitated to disagree with Larry on substantive issues if he felt Larry was wrong," says a former Treasury colleague of theirs. Geithner, moreover, has far better political fingerprints. "He's the guy who'd say to Larry, 'Look, maybe you don't want to say that men are smarter than women in just this way. You might be misunderstood,'" this colleague says, referring to the imbroglio that cost Summers his job as president of Harvard in 2006.

As it is, there is little apparent daylight between them on the urgency of action once they take office. "I agree with Larry [on macroeconomic policy]—or maybe I should say Larry agrees with me," Geithner has joked. And as Treasury Secretary, he will oversee the most critical component of any sustainable recovery plan: getting a still wounded financial system functioning again. Colleagues say Geithner is loyal to Paulson, but that doesn't mean "he would have done things exactly the way [Paulson] did them," says a source. Geithner, for example, wants to overhaul the dysfunctional, taxpayer-funded Troubled Asset Relief Program (TARP)—initially intended to buy bad assets from banks. The new Administration wants to use the final \$350 billion of the bailout program to reduce the number of home foreclosures and funnel additional capital directly to banks and other lenders.

It is clear now that the Paulson team has made mistakes. Not enough of the TARP money that banks have received has been pumped back into the economy in the form of loans. And many question the judgment calls Washington made as the crisis escalated last fall. "No one has yet adequately explained why they bailed out Bear Stearns but not Lehman Brothers," says the senior investment banker critical of the government's approach. "That's not all on Geithner, but some of it is."

Geithner acknowledges that Treasury and the Fed need to do a better job of explaining their actions. In his defense, he has told friends that there often just hasn't been time. At key moments, "the overwhelming imperative has been to act," he has said. "You would have violated the Hippocratic oath if you didn't." As the economic crisis deepens, the sense of urgency is undiminished. A friend of Geithner's says he believes the U.S. "is still not out ahead" of this problem. "We will be," he has said, "but we're not there yet." —WITH REPORTING BY MASSIMO CALABRESI/WASHINGTON ■

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The Ghosts of '33

Like Obama today, F.D.R. aimed to raise the spirits of a nation. Making peace with his predecessor was harder

THE PRESIDENT-ELECT RODE THE RAILS to his Inauguration, his normally buoyant spirits muted by a passing landscape of shuttered factories and municipalities in default. A quarter of the nation's workforce was unemployed; what remained of its credit system was on life support. By the time Franklin Roosevelt reached Washington on the evening of March 2, local hotels were refusing to accept out-of-state checks. Eleanor Roosevelt wondered how her family would pay its tab at the Mayflower.

If he succeeded in reversing the economic death spiral, a friend told F.D.R., he would be remembered as America's greatest President. "And if I fail," replied Roosevelt, "I will be remembered as the last one."

Historical comparisons can be treacherous. Notwithstanding our current fears about the future and our corresponding eagerness to turn the page, 2009 is not 1933. Yet there are echoes. At F.D.R.'s request, a simple prayer service was added to the Inaugural program, conducted by a clergyman who had voted for his opponent. Endicott Peabody's support of Herbert Hoover did not, however, preclude him from asking the Lord to bless his former Groton pupil. Across Lafayette Square from St. John's Church, a bone-weary Hoover seethed with resentment over his successor's refusal to cooperate during the dreary four-month interregnum stretching back to Election Day.

The two men had a history. They were once mutual admirers in Woodrow Wilson's war cabinet, and in 1920 Roosevelt backed Hoover for the presidency—as a Democrat. Hoover's status as the Great

Humanitarian, a title bestowed for his heroic Belgian food relief during World War I, had long since been tarnished by his refusal as President to countenance direct government assistance to victims of his own country's Depression. After the Inauguration, Hoover and Roosevelt would never meet again. Their shared ride down Pennsylvania Avenue traversed an endless mile in awkward silence. At the Capitol, 100,000 onlookers had assembled under



Nothing to fear Roosevelt, taking the oath for his first term, kept outgoing President Hoover at arm's length

pewter skies, their numbers swelled by millions of expectant radio listeners.

Roosevelt did more than raise their spirits in his 15-minute Inaugural Address. He told them a story—a morality play, actually—wherein a "generation of self-seekers" on the "mad chase of evanescent profits" had disproved the existence of a benignly self-correcting business cycle. "The money changers have fled from their high seats in the temple of our civilization," said F.D.R., whose genius for selecting his enemies would make him as popular as he was polarizing.

Everything he did that March 4 conveyed confidence and a break from what he called foolish tradition. Following a hot dog lunch at the White House, the

new President, in holiday mood, beamed indiscriminately as Al Smith, cowboy star Tom Mix and six miles of jubilant Democrats paraded past his reviewing stand. Just a day after a decidedly unpleasant Red Room tea with the Hoovers, Roosevelt returned to the same room to greet 13 children on crutches, emissaries of hope from Warm Springs, Ga. Declaring, "It is my intention to inaugurate precedents like this from time to time,"

he looked on as his full Cabinet was sworn in en masse—another first.

Barack Obama appears to share F.D.R.'s instinctive grasp of crisis not as something to be managed but as an opportunity to forge an emotional bond with those he will lead. Will he denounce Bernard Madoff and the modern money changers? Confident enough to be gracious, the President-elect has been much more forthcoming about his economic agenda than the deliberately opaque F.D.R. As for the outgoing President, George W. Bush has no wish to be the Herbert Hoover of the CNBC generation. Accordingly, his Administration will have spent several hundred billion dollars to unfreeze the credit markets. (Indeed, has anything of late so recalled Roosevelt's devotion to "bold, persistent experimentation" as the

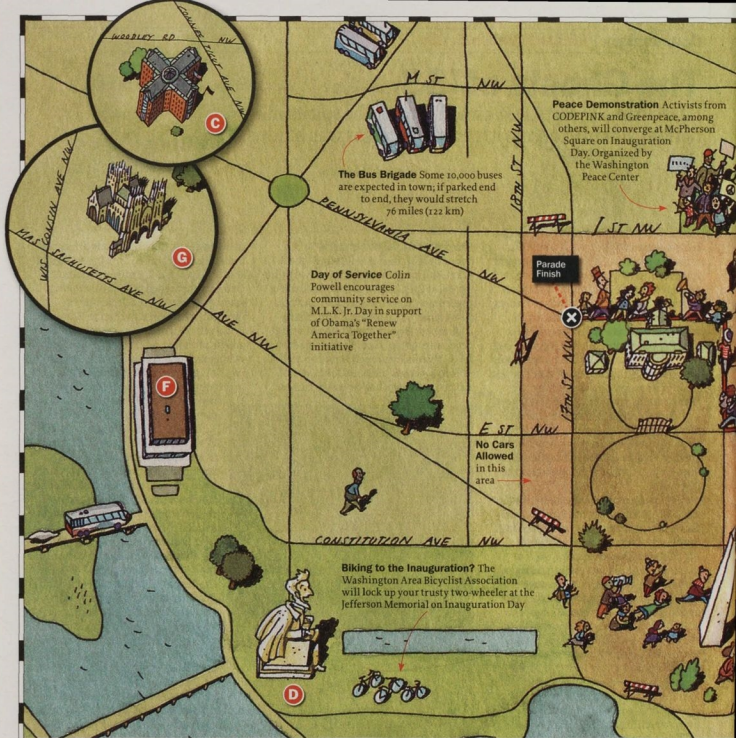
frantic improvisations of Hank Paulson?)

The result has been a transition unlike any other, a virtual co-presidency whose continuities include a shared commitment to fiscal stimulus on an unprecedented scale. Obama's tacit collaboration with an unpopular predecessor offers the strongest evidence yet of his sincerity in wanting to change the brutish tone of official Washington. It's a safe bet his ride to Capitol Hill will be far more civil than the ghostly Hoover-Roosevelt procession. And that's change we can all believe in. ■



A historian and biographer who has headed five presidential libraries, Smith is now a scholar-in-residence at George Mason University

Obama's ride to the Capitol with Bush will be far more civil than the ghostly Hoover-Roosevelt procession. That's change we can all believe in



Peace Demonstration Activists from CODEPINK and Greenpeace, among others, will converge at McPherson Square on Inauguration Day. Organized by the Washington Peace Center

The Bus Brigade Some 10,000 buses are expected in town; if parked end to end, they would stretch 76 miles (122 km)

Day of Service Colin Powell encourages community service on M.L.K. Jr. Day in support of Obama's "Renew America Together" initiative

Parade Finish

No Cars Allowed in this area

Biking to the Inauguration? The Washington Area Bicyclist Association will lock up your trusty two-wheeler at the Jefferson Memorial on Inauguration Day

★ **INAUGURATION**

Mapping the Occasion

Parties, prayer services and a parade! A guide to Washington's megabash for the 44th President

Illustration for TIME by Ingo Fast

Hundreds of celebrations will mark Barack Obama's swearing in. A sampling:

SATURDAY, JAN. 17

A) Green Ball

A sustainable celebration with soy-wax candles, carbon offsets, composted waste, organic and local grub, with vegan options
Andrew W. Mellon Auditorium

SUNDAY, JAN. 18

B) African American Church Ball

To honor African Americans in the U.S. Leaders of African-



THE NUMBERS

3 million people expected to attend

5,000 portable toilets on the Mall and parade route

800 lb. of bison and **1,500 cases** of beer at one hotel alone

2 million Metro maps distributed

10 video walls on the Mall for ceremony-watching

5,625 security cameras in D.C.

American churches nationwide will gather in celebration of President Obama and the Balm in Gilead charity. **Grand Hyatt**

C) Aloha Ball
Black tie and aloha attire at this D.C. luau. Featuring P-Funk **Marriott Wardman Park Hotel**

D) "We Are One" Official Opening Celebration
Live music by Beyoncé, Shakira and Bruce Springsteen and readings by Martin Luther King III, Queen Latifah and Denzel Washington **Lincoln Memorial**

MONDAY, JAN. 19

E) Huffington Post Party
A pre-Inaugural ball to welcome change. Performance by will.i.am. **Newseum**

F) The Oprah Winfrey Show
Oprah tapes her daily television show live from D.C. **John F. Kennedy Center**

G) The Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. Commemoration
Soulful celebration at the site of King's last Sunday sermon. Performance by Boman Armah **Washington National Cathedral**

TUESDAY, JAN. 20

H) Official Swearing In
The 44th President sworn in at 11:30 a.m. **Capitol Building**

I) Inauguration Parade
Starts at 2:30 p.m. Seats for sale

J) Creative Coalition Gala
Artists and entertainers glitz out, with tickets ranging from \$10,000 to \$100,000 **Harman Center for the Arts**

K) Neighborhood Ball
An official celebration for the people, with ticket prices from

very low to free. Special appearance by President Obama **Washington Convention Center**

L) Interfaith "Prayer, Peace & Praise" Service
Part of a three-day celebration of Martin Luther King Jr. Day **10th Street Baptist Church**

M) Obama Portrait Viewing
Artist Shepard Fairey's iconic red and blue Fairey portrait of Obama will be on display **National Portrait Gallery**

—BY MAYA CURRY
AND SOPHIA YAN



‘She is someone with authority and style that people can look up to. It’s a new way of looking at fashion. It’s about women who are real and confident.’

—THAKOON PANICHGUL, DESIGNER



The Looks of Michelle Obama

For a year of behind-the-scenes photos of the new First Lady, go to time.com/Michelle-Obama

choices as much as it did in her campaign speeches. She is not afraid to wear bold colors, which speaks to her confidence. She’s also not afraid to show her quirky side: flats with cocktail dresses or the black cardigan wrapped around her Narciso Rodriguez dress on election night—as if to say, “This is what I’ve been wearing all day. No need to change just because he won.” On weekends, she wears jeans, T shirts and the occasional baseball cap.

It’s Michelle’s *real* image that will most likely set the tone for her time in the White House. “She’s got an independent streak in her, and she radiates strength and Americana,” says Evelyn Gorman, a retailer from Houston, Texas. “It’s been a long time since we’ve had that. She is going to set the tone on a global scale.”

Fashion executives hope that Obama’s

strong sense of style will inspire women to shop. “What she puts on sparks incredible interest,” says Michael Fink, fashion director of Saks Fifth Avenue, who said the store received hundreds of calls about her election-night outfit. When Obama appeared on *The View* last summer in a \$148 black-and-white dress from the label White House/Black Market, the company sold out of the item the next day.

Although she has shown interest in fashion, particularly the work of young American designers, Obama is clearly not carried away by it. “She knows herself, and the whole style thing comes through in her personality and wit and the way she moves,” says Pinto. “But she sees the higher place for other things in her life.” As First Lady, Michelle will be a model in more ways than one. ■

One Dream Realized

They paved the way for Barack Obama's historic Inauguration, to be held just one day after the nation's annual celebration of Martin Luther King Jr. Posing here with photographs from an era so starkly defined by black and white, seven icons of the civil rights movement reflect on their progress and setbacks, the meaning of Jan. 20 to African Americans and what King would make of the country Obama will soon lead

Reported by Alyssa Petini, Laura Fitzpatrick, Frances Romero and Alexandra Silver



John Lewis

Congressman from Georgia

I don't know whether I will be able to control myself [at the Inauguration]. I will be on the platform, and I'm going to try to keep my balance and not have what I call an out-of-body experience. I want to be able to see down the Mall and past the Washington Monument and get a glimpse of the Lincoln Memorial, where we stood 45 years ago.

When we were organizing voter-registration drives, going on the Freedom Rides, sitting in, coming here to Washington for the first time, getting arrested, going to jail, being beaten, I never thought—I never dreamed—of the possibility that an African American would one day be elected President of the United States. My mother lived to see me elected to the Congress, but I wish my mother and father both were around. They would be so happy and so proud, and they would be so gratified. And they would be saying that the struggle, and what we did and tried to do, was worth it.

**'[Obama's] a
global citizen
and an all-
American
boy. He defies
categorization.'**

Andrew Young

*Chairman of Goodworks
International*

Barack Obama's election has made us tremendously proud, but it has given us, I'm afraid, too much hope. I'm constantly reminding [the black community] that he has never once promised, "Yes I can." He has always said, "Yes we can." He has never set himself up as a savior of the world. He set himself up as someone who articulates and represents and can hopefully lead us to be the best America that we can be. He isn't just black; he's an Afro-Asian-Latin European. That means he's a global citizen and an all-American boy. He defies categorization. The fact that his father and grandfather on one side were black doesn't make him any more of a black President than his grandfather on the other side being white would make him a white President. We claim him, and we are proud of him, but the fact is that he has not had the experiences of deprivation, humiliation and racism that I had to grow up with—which is good. He has the label without the scars.



'One could say prophetically that Barack Obama is an American idea whose time has come.'

Clarence B. Jones

Scholar-in-residence, Stanford

Those of us who were very close advisers to Martin Luther King Jr.—I think it's reasonable to say that we didn't anticipate that there would be an African-American President elected in our lifetime. It says more about our country than it says about Barack.

This is not in any way to diminish the superb individual achievements and accomplishments of Barack Obama. When I think about Barack Obama and I think about Martin King, I think about that saying that Martin used in many different versions, the saying of Victor Hugo's, paraphrased, "More powerful than the march of mighty armies is an idea whose time has come." And one could say prophetically that Barack Obama is an American idea whose time has come. And that's the power of it.



Aretha Franklin

Singer who will perform at the Inauguration

My performance? Oh boy, what an honor. It's all but overwhelming. I think that most people—not just African Americans—are looking and hoping for some kind of change in America, having to do with all of the critical issues that [Obama] and his Administration are going to have to address, like foreclosure, the economy [and] crime. But I think they're going to be highly successful. You have such an intelligent, high-level-IQ group of people. Whatever can be done is going to be done. I believe that.





The Rev. Jesse Jackson

Founder and president, RainbowPUSH Coalition

I often think—Aug. 28, 1955: Emmett Till was lynched. Aug. 28, 1963: Dr. King speaking in Washington, dreaming beyond our predicament. Aug. 28, 2008: Barack Obama getting the nomination of the Democratic Party. [The Inauguration] is a moment of transformation. But I know the challenges have already begun—and he's not even sworn in yet.



'If you look at the past eight years and look ahead, it literally is going to be night and day.'

Julian Bond

NAACP chairman

The work the NAACP has done for 100 years now has had success that we didn't dream of. We weren't working to make a black person President of the United States, but it was a natural result. It has, I think, less to do with his race as it does to do with his politics. He's just a great break from the past. If you look at the past eight years and look ahead, it literally is going to be night and day.

James Lawson

Theologian and distinguished professor at Vanderbilt University

Economic exploitation, greed, sexism, violence, racism: we have not dismantled those forces yet in our midst. Obama represents that a change has come, but if you do not deal with the socioeconomic, political forces that inhibit people and create torture and cruelty, you can't make progress [toward] King's understanding of this society as [one] of liberty, equality and justice for all.





The Permanent Campaign

Linked by e-mail and Facebook, millions of Obama backers are staying involved—and gearing up for 2012

BY MICHAEL SCHERER/OWINGS, MD.

FOR KENNETH RICHARDSON II OF OWINGS, Md., Barack Obama's election-night victory was not the end but the beginning. "We can't let this go," the 58-year-old father of three remembers thinking. "People feel invested. They feel they can actually do something." So he did. A couple of weeks after the confetti settled, he posted an alert on MyBarackObama.com proposing a new activist group in Calvert County, a rural exurb of Washington where the rolling farmland is dotted by weathered barns and crab shacks. Complete strangers signed up.

A retired Air Force pilot, Phil Pfanschmidt, and his wife Joyce, both 71, came to the first meeting in December. So did Chris Melendez, a self-employed art dealer who lives about 30 miles away. Richardson's old motorcycle buddy Al Leandre brought his wife, a public-school teacher, and passed the word to some friends he had met through his government-contracting business. With a few clicks of a mouse, the Owings Grass Roots Group was born.

They were white and black, old and young, middle-class professionals who

4,500

Number of house parties—like the one above, organized by Kenneth Richardson II, left—held by Obama supporters in December

shared a collective frustration with the state of their country. At least four of the founding 12 had once been registered Republicans. Most had stories of helping the Obama campaign; all had internalized Obama's message of bottom-up, people-powered political change. "For anything that is going on in southern Maryland, Barack Obama personally can have an impact—through us," explained Leandre.

This sort of thing has been happening quietly all over the country this winter. For the first time in decades, a President will enter office at the spearhead of a social movement he created. The exact size can be measured in various ways. He controls a 13 million-name e-mail list, which is nearly the size of the NRA and the AFL-CIO combined. Three million people have given him money; 2 million have created profiles on Obama's social-networking site. More than 1.2 million volunteered for the campaign, which has trained about 20,000 in the business of community organizing.

The Movement. Can the new President count on his legions in battles to come?

13 MILLION

People on the Obama campaign's e-mail list, more than twice as many as on MoveOn.org's, the largest online political organization

3 MILLION

People who donated to the Obama campaign, mostly in increments of \$100 or less

2 MILLION

Profiles created by supporters on Obama's social-networking site, MyBarackObama.com

1.2 MILLION

Volunteers recruited by the Obama campaign in 2008. Of those, 20,000 were trained in community organizing



But the best measurement of Obama's grass-roots power may still be its unrealized potential. In December, when the Owings group first met, about 4,500 house parties were held around the country, and a total of 550,000 people responded to an online survey asking how they would like to contribute their time and energy over the coming years. At about the same time, nearly 5,000 groups responded to a call from Obama's transition team for reports on the best ways to tackle health-care reform. More recently, some 100,000 people participated in an interactive feature on the transition website Change.gov, which allows people to vote on questions they want Obama to answer. Some popular examples: Will you legalize marijuana? Will you appoint a prosecutor to investigate possible Bush Administration crimes? All this was done with almost no publicity and barely a whisper of encouragement from Obama himself. As a scholar of online politics, Personal Democracy Forum's Micah Sifry, puts it, "I think Obama is sitting on a volcano."

The question for Obama is, Can he harness its power? Obama anchored his presidential ambitions in his background as a bottom-up community organizer and in his belief that two people together are exponentially more powerful than two people alone. "In the last 30 or 40 years, a lot of politics turned into marketing," explains Marshall Ganz, a Harvard professor and community organizer who has worked with Obama. "Marketing is all about selling soup to individuals. It's not about bringing people together." Obama's model, which has made him the envy of a generation of political consultants, focuses both on selling the soup and on giving his supporters the tools

to make soup together—for one another.

This formula delivered huge returns during the campaign, and Obama swamped his opponents with vastly superior fundraising and grass-roots organizations. But it has never been tried on a large scale by a sitting President. So Obama's web of supporters and his online organizers must now feel their way into uncharted territory. During the campaign, Richardson, an unemployed customer-service specialist, downloaded phone numbers from the Obama website and then made calls from his home office to nudge voters to the polls. He hasn't heard directly from the Obama organization since, but with the help of the Obama website, Facebook and e-mail, he has created an Obama satellite organization on his own. The Owings group is in business, with a mission statement, the beginnings of a logo and plans to incorporate as a nonprofit.

Richardson's group has signed up overseas supporters and planned a series of community dinners and a potluck in honor of the Inauguration. On a recent NFL-playoff Sunday, 11 members gathered in Richardson's brick-lined den to discuss ways to improve local schools. "When we as a group put a package together to send to Barack Obama, what should we ask for?" Richardson posed the question at the start of the meeting. The answers were varied and thoughtful. Why not encourage high school students to get passports

to promote foreign travel? Why not sponsor overseas pen-pal programs via the Internet? Should there be more awards to recognize great teachers?

Though few talk in public about it, a 13 million-man army, with foot soldiers ready to act in key congressional districts, could come in handy if the White House has trouble lining up votes for various bills and proposals that reach Capitol Hill. Obama's army can make a lot of phone calls and send a lot of e-mails—and it has proved it knows how to act fast. Rallying support for legislation is one mission; so is making sure the army is intact—and still writing checks—in a few years, when Obama is likely to seek re-election.

While his supporters seek out ways to stay involved, Obama's team is working to connect with citizens outside politics. Buffy Wicks, who helped run Obama's Missouri campaign, has spent the past couple of months putting together a new website, USAservice.org, designed to capitalize on Obama's call for Americans to volunteer in the days before the Inauguration. Even James Dobson's conservative Focus on the Family, no friend of Obama's campaign, is encouraging members to participate.

Meanwhile, at the transition office, Macon Phillips, 30, the director of new media, has been experimenting with other ways to remake the stodgy White House website. The new transition website invites comments at nearly every turn, with regular video responses from all ranks of Obama's incoming Administration and a promise to collate feedback into reports for policymakers, Cabinet officers, even the President. Citizens can view and comment on briefing papers submitted by the interest groups that have been lobbying Obama ever since he won the election. Most of these interactive devices will be carried over to the Obama White House site. Asked if all this feedback would really reach decision makers, Phillips responded, "I wouldn't enjoy my job if I felt the whole thing was a charade."

As one campaign ends and another begins, Obama will need to broaden his base without disappointing true believers like Richardson. In the 1970s, Richardson graduated from college with a degree in urban studies and hoped to work in the public sector. But his first job, working for then D.C. mayor Walter Washington, was dispensing. He found himself handing out public-assistance checks to people who were gaming the system, an experience that led him to register as a Republican. Now, he says, he may finally be able to serve as he had always hoped. "I will be 59 in April," he said, "and I have never, ever come across something like this." ■

'I think Obama is sitting on a volcano.'

—MICAH SIFRY, PERSONAL DEMOCRACY FORUM



Town Overboard!

Washington has a bad case of Obamamania. Here's hoping the fever breaks soon

AT LEAST ONE SEGMENT OF THE economy is booming: the market in Obama kitsch. The dedicated supporter of the incoming President need not content himself with a T shirt or bumper sticker. Also available are Obama coasters, lava lamps, jigsaw puzzles, mugs, skateboards, toy trains, CDs, DVDs and, of course, commemorative dinner plates. Ben & Jerry's is introducing a Yes Pecan flavor in honor of Obama's campaign slogan, and Marvel Comics is running a special Inaugural issue of *Spider-Man*. Pepsi has created the Pepsi Optimism Project with a red, white and blue logo almost identical to Obama's sunrise button. And Obama's face now graces subway tickets sold in the nation's capital.

Officials in Washington expect record crowds for Jan. 20—record lines at the Porta-Potty too—and closing time at several hundred local bars and watering holes has been extended practically into the breakfast hour for celebrators' convenience. (Tourism is getting a boost outside D.C. too: in Honolulu, a \$40 bus ride will take you to see where Obama scooped ice cream as a teen.) We have an economic stimulus plan, and his name is Barack Obama.

Conservatives harrumph at this adulation. Before declaring his greatness, we insist that we should wait for him to accomplish something for the country. (Spike Lee didn't even wait for the election. Last summer he said we were soon going to measure time by "BB, before Barack, and AB, after Barack.") In some of his supporters, we see the spectacle of secular-minded



folk looking for a messiah. But we risk looking like spoilsports or sore losers, and we can sympathize with the excitement over the first nonwhite President, even if we would have preferred that someone else had played the role.

There is no recent analogue to the madness—er, hopefulness—that has seized Obama's fans. Some journalists have been comparing him with F.D.R. and even Lincoln. To find a similar episode of enthusiasm for an incoming President, you might have to go back to 1829. The outgoing President, John Quincy Adams, was the son of another President. He had won office in a way his opponents considered corrupt: the 1824 election had been thrown to the House

of Representatives, which picked him. The new President, Andrew Jackson, was his era's version of change. Unlike his predecessors, he was not from the founding generation, not related to a founder, not a member of the Virginia dynasty. He embodied the Western future of the country, just as Obama does our multiracial future. An unprecedented number of Americans trekked to see him take the oath of office. His Inaugural was a massive party at the White House, one that got so out of hand that Jackson was forced to lodge elsewhere.

But historical precedent can justify only so much. Going to D.C. to celebrate the election of a President you believe in? That's fine. Hanging around at his hotel just "to be breathing the same air," as one man told the *Washington Post*? If you can picture a stalker giving the same quote, maybe it's time to think again.

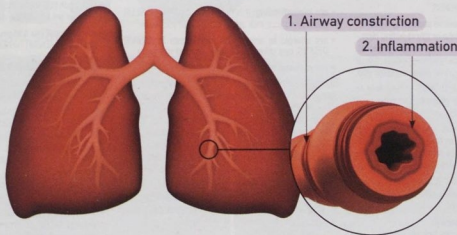
Naming your newborn Barack is, at best, right on the line. Renaming your kids' elementary school after him, as people in Hempstead, N.Y., did? Wait until he's got a presidential library. Wear an Obama shirt, sure, if that's how you feel. Wearing one that says **THE ONLY TRUTH THAT STANDS BEFORE US IS OBAMA**, as two dozen guys I saw at the Democratic Convention did, puts you at the center of Crazyville.

To his credit, Obama has done little to encourage this frenzy, at least since the election. He's all ironic detachment. Yet somehow that aloofness calls forth more reckless declarations of love from the besotted.

It should go without saying that plenty of strong Obama supporters are not getting carried away. But they're not the ones setting the tone. The soprano Renée Fleming recently sang an Obama-fied Christmas carol: "In the bleak midwinter, at the Christmas feast, a family leaves Chicago and travels to the East..." The original starred the Christ child. This fever will break because that's what fevers do. Its sufferers are probably harmless. They sure can be creepy, though. ■

Renaming your kids' elementary school after him, as people in Hempstead, N.Y., did? Better to wait until he's got a presidential library

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Talk to your doctor about the risks and benefits of treating your asthma with ADVAIR. Do not use ADVAIR with long-acting beta₂-agonists for any reason. If you are taking ADVAIR, see your doctor if your asthma does not improve or gets worse. Thrush in the mouth and throat may occur. Tell your doctor if you have a heart condition or high blood pressure. Some people may experience increased blood pressure, heart rate, or changes in heart rhythm. ADVAIR is for patients 4 years and older. For patients 4 to 11 years old, ADVAIR 100/50 is for those who have asthma symptoms while on an inhaled corticosteroid.

Please see accompanying important information about ADVAIR DISKUS.

You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA.
Visit www.fda.gov/medwatch, or call 1-800-FDA-1088.



GlaxoSmithKline



If you don't have prescription coverage and can't afford your medicines, visit ppan.org, or call 1-888-4PPA-NOW (1-888-477-2668)

ADVAIR DISKUS® 100/50
(fluticasone propionate 100 mcg and salmeterol 50 mcg inhalation powder)

What is the most important information I should know about ADVAIR DISKUS?

- In patients with asthma, long-acting beta₂-agonist (LABA) medicines, such as salmeterol (one of the medicines in ADVAIR DISKUS), may increase the chance of death from asthma problems. In a large asthma study, more patients who used salmeterol died from asthma problems compared with patients who did not use salmeterol. It is not known whether fluticasone propionate, the other medicine in ADVAIR DISKUS, changes your chance of death from asthma problems seen with salmeterol. Talk with your healthcare provider about this risk and the benefits of treating your asthma with ADVAIR DISKUS.
- ADVAIR DISKUS does not relieve sudden symptoms. Always have a fast-acting inhaler (short-acting beta₂-agonist medicine) with you to treat sudden symptoms. If you do not have a fast-acting inhaler, contact your healthcare provider to have one prescribed for you.
- Do not stop using ADVAIR DISKUS unless told to do so by your healthcare provider because your symptoms might get worse.
- ADVAIR DISKUS should be used only if your healthcare provider decides that another asthma-controller medicine alone does not control your asthma or that you need 2 asthma-controller medicines.
- Call your healthcare provider if breathing problems worsen over time while using ADVAIR DISKUS. You may need different treatment.
- Get emergency medical care if:
 - breathing problems worsen quickly, and
 - you use your fast-acting inhaler, but it does not relieve your breathing problems.

What is ADVAIR DISKUS?

- ADVAIR DISKUS contains 2 medicines:
 - fluticasone propionate (the same medicine found in FLOVENT[®]), an inhaled corticosteroid medicine. Inhaled corticosteroids help to decrease inflammation in the lungs. Inflammation in the lungs can lead to asthma symptoms.
 - salmeterol (the same medicine found in SEREVENT[®]), a LABA. LABA medicines are used in patients with asthma or chronic obstructive pulmonary disease (COPD). LABA medicines help the muscles around the airways in your lungs stay relaxed to prevent symptoms, such as wheezing and shortness of breath. These symptoms can happen when the muscles around the airways tighten. This makes it hard to breathe. In severe cases, wheezing can stop your breathing and cause death if not treated right away.

Asthma

ADVAIR DISKUS is used long term, twice a day, to control symptoms of asthma and to prevent symptoms such as wheezing in adults and children ages 4 and older.

Chronic Obstructive Pulmonary Disease (COPD)

COPD is a chronic lung disease that includes chronic bronchitis, emphysema, or both. ADVAIR DISKUS 250/50 is used long term, twice a day, to help improve lung function for better breathing in adults with COPD. ADVAIR DISKUS 250/50 has been shown to decrease the number of flare-ups and worsening of COPD symptoms (exacerbations).

Who should not use ADVAIR DISKUS?

Do not use ADVAIR DISKUS:

- to treat sudden, severe symptoms of asthma or COPD
- if you have a severe allergy to milk proteins. Ask your doctor if you are not sure.

What should I tell my healthcare provider before using ADVAIR DISKUS?

Tell your healthcare provider about all of your health conditions, including if you:

- have heart problems
- have high blood pressure
- have seizures
- have thyroid problems
- have diabetes
- have liver problems
- have osteoporosis
- have an immune system problem
- are pregnant or planning to become pregnant. It is not known if ADVAIR DISKUS may harm your unborn baby
- are breastfeeding. It is not known if ADVAIR DISKUS passes into your milk and if it can harm your baby
- are allergic to any of the ingredients in ADVAIR DISKUS, any other medicines, or food products
- are exposed to chickenpox or measles

Tell your healthcare provider about all the medicines you take, including prescription and nonprescription medicines, vitamins, and herbal supplements. ADVAIR DISKUS and certain other medicines may interact with each other. This may cause serious side effects. Especially, tell your healthcare provider if you take ritonavir. The anti-HIV medicines Norvir[®] (ritonavir capsules) Soft Gelatin, Norvir[®] (ritonavir oral solution), and Kaletra[®] (lopinavir/ritonavir) Tablets contain ritonavir.

Know the medicines you take. Keep a list and show it to your healthcare provider and pharmacist each time you get a new medicine.

How do I use ADVAIR DISKUS?

Do not use ADVAIR DISKUS unless your healthcare provider has taught you and you understand everything. Ask your healthcare provider or pharmacist if you have any questions.

- Children should use ADVAIR DISKUS with an adult's help, as instructed by the child's healthcare provider.
- Use ADVAIR DISKUS exactly as prescribed. Do not use ADVAIR DISKUS more often than prescribed. ADVAIR DISKUS comes in 3 strengths. Your healthcare provider will prescribe the one that is best for your condition.
- The usual dosage of ADVAIR DISKUS is 1 inhalation twice a day (morning and evening). The 2 doses should be about 12 hours apart. Rinse your mouth with water after using ADVAIR DISKUS.
- If you take more ADVAIR DISKUS than your doctor has prescribed, get medical help right away if you have any unusual symptoms, such as worsening shortness of breath, chest pain, increased heart rate, or shakiness.
- If you miss a dose of ADVAIR DISKUS, just skip that dose. Take your next dose at your usual time. Do not take 2 doses at one time.
- Do not use a spacer device with ADVAIR DISKUS.
- Do not breathe into ADVAIR DISKUS.
- While you are using ADVAIR DISKUS twice a day, do not use other medicines that contain a LABA for any reason. Ask your healthcare provider or pharmacist if any of your other medicines are LABA medicines.
- Do not change or stop any of your medicines used to control or treat your breathing problems. Your healthcare provider will adjust your medicines as needed.
- Make sure you always have a fast-acting inhaler with you. Use your fast-acting inhaler if you have breathing problems between doses of ADVAIR DISKUS.

Call your healthcare provider or get medical care right away if:

- your breathing problems worsen with ADVAIR DISKUS
- you need to use your fast-acting inhaler more often than usual
- your fast-acting inhaler does not work as well for you at relieving symptoms
- you need to use 4 or more inhalations of your fast-acting inhaler for 2 or more days in a row
- you use 1 whole canister of your fast-acting inhaler in 8 weeks' time
- your peak flow meter results decrease. Your healthcare provider will tell you the numbers that are right for you.
- you have asthma and your symptoms do not improve after using ADVAIR DISKUS regularly for 1 week

What are the possible side effects with ADVAIR DISKUS?

See "What is the most important information I should know about ADVAIR DISKUS?"

- Patients with COPD have a higher chance of getting pneumonia. ADVAIR DISKUS may increase the chance of getting pneumonia. Call your healthcare provider if you notice any of the following symptoms:
 - increase in mucus (sputum) production
 - change in mucus color
 - increased breathing problems
 - increased cough
- serious allergic reactions. Call your healthcare provider or get emergency medical care if you get any of the following symptoms of a serious allergic reaction, including:
 - rash
 - swelling of the face, mouth, and tongue
 - hives
 - breathing problems
- increased blood pressure
- chest pain
- a fast and irregular heartbeat
- headache
- tremor
- nervousness
- weakened immune system and a higher chance of infections
- lower bone mineral density. This may be a problem for people who already have a higher chance of low bone density (osteoporosis).
- eye problems including glaucoma and cataracts. You should have regular eye exams while using ADVAIR DISKUS.
- slowed growth in children. A child's growth should be checked often.

Other common side effects include:

- hoarseness and voice changes
- throat irritation
- thrush in the mouth and throat
- respiratory tract infections

Tell your healthcare provider about any side effect that bothers you or that does not go away.

These are not all the side effects with ADVAIR DISKUS. Ask your healthcare provider or pharmacist for more information.

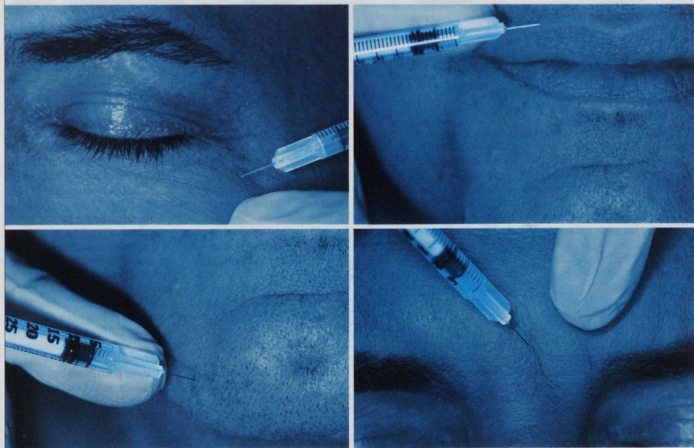
Call your doctor for medical advice about side effects. You may report side effects to the FDA at 1-800-FDA-1088.

Ask your healthcare provider or pharmacist for additional information about ADVAIR DISKUS. You can also contact the company that makes ADVAIR DISKUS (toll free) at 1-888-825-5249 or at www.advaair.com.

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Life

HEALTH SOCIAL NORMS



HEALTH

Boytox. More men are erasing their wrinkles, part of a “manscaping” movement that could turn out to be recession-proof

BY JOEL STEIN

BOTOX IS NOW BEING USED BY men, some of whom did not even run for President. The number of men in the U.S. who paid to get a series of tiny injections in their face nearly tripled from 2001 to 2007—to 300,000, or about 7% of the total Botoxed population. And

despite the recession, those numbers aren't going down yet; one of the many things the laid-off cannot afford is to look their age.

Men usually get Botox to remove those two vertical lines between their eyebrows that make them look angry and confused and thus, one could argue, masculine. They

also use the product to smooth out the horizontal creases in their foreheads, though, unlike women, they don't tend to worry about crow's feet. Men do, however, fret a lot more about the pain. “They get so jacked up worrying that it will hurt,” says Botox enthusiast and nine-time Olympic gold medalist Mark Spitz. “Maybe

that's why women have babies and we don't.”

When 1970s Olympic heroes—and mustachioed ones at that—get work done, it would seem to mark social acceptability among guys. Spitz, though, is a spokesman for Allergan, the company that makes Botox and has started to market directly to men via

Smooth Moves. Guess which prominent figure has admitted to having what work done (and who said it was for medical reasons)



A SILVIO BERLUSCONI
Elected in April
2008 at age 71 to a
third term as Prime
Minister of Italy



B DIEGO MARADONA
Argentine soccer
legend, 48, who
scored "hand of
God" goal in 1986



C SIMON COWELL
Cantankerous
American *Idol*
judge and
recording exec, 49



D GENERAL SIR MIKE JACKSON
Former British
Army Chief, 64,
who retired in 2006

PHOTOS: A. ELLIS/REUTERS; B. JONAS/REUTERS; C. BOYD/REUTERS; D. JONAS/REUTERS

its website. Sure, Spitz first considered getting the world's most common cosmetic procedure after a friend, former Olympic gymnast Nadia Comaneci, told him that the wrinkles between his eyes made him look old and overly serious, but he got a whole lot more interested when Allergan started paying him.

Who, then, are the other 299,999 dudes getting Botox? And are any of them not famous or not gay? I searched among my friends for a straight male Botox user and quickly found out that Bill Torres, a heterosexual fifth-grade teacher, had done it. Yes, the 42-year-old lives in Los Angeles, and yes, his wife is Jackie Guerra—the actress who wrote *Under Construction*, about losing 170 lb. (75 kg) and rebuilding herself with plastic surgery—but he is straight. So I went to his house with Dr. William Murphy to see Torres get Botoxed up.

If you were very sick and could barely move, you wouldn't be able to find a doctor to make a home visit, but lots of M.D.s will happily travel to your house to temporarily paralyze your facial muscles. Murphy, who wears a bow tie, cuff links and monogrammed sleeves, is an oph-

thalmologist, but he spends almost no time working on eyes and almost all of it driving from Palm Springs to L.A., youthanizing people for \$500 to \$600 a session. (Prices could start to come down nationwide if the FDA approves the first Botox rival, Reloxin, possibly as early as April.) He has given out offers for free procedures in gift bags at the Emmys and Latin Grammys and says three-quarters of the recipients—including the men—cashed them in.

The vast majority of Murphy's male clients are indeed gay, though he has several straight actors and even a hetero sportscaster among his regular stops. Compared with his female clients, the men—in addition to being far more nervous about the pain—are extra-cautious about making sure they don't overdo it. "Five years ago, everybody wanted that frozen look," he says. "Now they tell me, 'Make me

look refreshed. As few lines as possible, but I still need to have expression.'"

It isn't long into Murphy's visit before Torres' reason for getting Botox becomes obvious: his wife stands inches away, urging him to get as many injections as possible. And she gets so excited when the doctor suggests erasing the furrowed brow lines in addition to the "11s" between her husband's eyebrows that she throws up her hands in victory. "Thank God!" she yells. "They drive me insane. It's like when somebody has a big zit on the side of their face and they don't pop it. Just pop it!" She had already persuaded Torres to dye his hair, go for massages, shave his chest and get regular manicures and pedicures, but Botox took a little longer, in part because it meant scheduling appointments every four months.

While Torres breathes his way through some painful-looking injections right over his eye as the jabs "lunch-time lift," i.e., a mini-face-lift so speedy and subtle you can go back to work that day, the good doctor asks me if I'm ready for my shots. At 37, and complimented more on my skin than on any of my

other stunning physical attributes, I didn't expect to be told I needed Botox. "I would suggest just lightly across your forehead," he says. As I ponder this, he keeps going. "You have a very thick brow and deep-set eyes. It would be nice to do just a little brow lift so you have a more serene, refreshed, younger look." And then: "And a little bit around the eyes." When I demur, Murphy tells me that if I wait, the wrinkles will set deeper and require a bigger dose of expression-limiting Botox. "Honestly, with you I would start now," he says. "It would make such a difference."

Though Torres and his wife are cheering me on and the thrill of expensing Botox during a recession is compelling, I wimp out. It's not that I don't believe it would make me look better or that I'd be glad I did it. Shallow as it is, I just don't want to think of myself as a guy who gets cosmetic surgery. Plus, those needles really did look like they hurt.



Unfurrow That Brow
One man's Botox makes another man (Joel) squirm at time.com/botox

Who then are the other 299,999 dudes getting Botox? Are any of them not famous or not gay?

SOCIAL NORMS

A Recession Etiquette Lesson With:

Peggy Post



YOU MIGHT THINK the current economic crisis would put etiquette expert Peggy Post out of work. Who cares about niceties when millions of people are losing their job? But the recession has given rise to an epidemic of foot-in-mouth disease, with incidents ranging from the awkward to the deeply wounding. For example, how do you ask a co-worker if she survived the layoffs, or turn down a relative's request for a loan? "Being respectful and considerate is always important, especially in these trying times," says Post, the great-granddaughter-in-law of etiquette guru Emily Post.

The author of more than a dozen etiquette books, Post says it's O.K. to be assertive about your financial troubles, at least in non-work situations. (The magic words: "That's out of my budget.") But if you think people are being stupid with their money, she notes, "I wouldn't recommend going around to your friends and family and saying, 'Hey, cut back.'" —BY ANDREA SACHS



RESTAURANT

CHECK MATE

If you're worried about splitting the bill, Post says it's fine for small parties to ask for separate checks at the outset.



BOTTLENECK

If a friend wants too pricey a wine, Post says, "Speak up!" But don't be explicit with a client. Just point to a different bottle.



PENNY LANE

Good service still deserves a 15%-to-20% tip. Too steep? Then pick a cheaper place. "Don't stiff the waitstaff," she says.



WORK

DON'T ASK, DON'T TELL

Unless you're pals, don't ask a co-worker if he got laid off. Likewise, don't let on if you know he's about to get axed.



SURVIVOR'S GUILT

You get to stay; they don't. "Give them your full attention, and let them know you're there for them," Post says.



STAY COOL

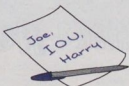
Whatever happens, don't bad-mouth your boss. "Take the high road," Post says. The low one could make job hunting harder.



GIVING

ALMS QUALMS

If you can't afford as big a charitable or religious donation, "pledge what you're able," Post says, and volunteer your time.



BORROWER'S TALE

When asked for a loan, it's O.K. to say no. But if you say yes, it's fine to ask for a repayment agreement in writing.



BLUSHING BRIDE

Put out the word that you want money instead of gifts for your wedding, but never mention cash on the invitation.

How Do We Put This?

See Peggy Post field more recession-related queries at time.com/etiquette



“FIRST
of ALL
it DOESN'T RUN IN
MY FAMILY. SO AS THEY SAY
it's NOT IN MY CARDS. THE ONLY UN-
FORTUNATE THING THAT GOT PASSED
DOWN TO ME WAS MY
FATHER'S NOSE.”

*Jerry Litton, 52, the day before
he was diagnosed with thyroid cancer.*

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Light of Life Foundation
checkyourneck.com

Why do we love dog movies? For
the same reason we love dogs

MOVIES, PAGE 59

Arts



TELEVISION □ MOVIES □ BOOKS □ SHORT LIST

TELEVISION

TV's New Beginnings. After a slow fall, prime time is no longer a desert island



BY JAMES PONIEWOZIK

THE ELECTION HAD ONE BIPARTISAN BENEFIT: it covered up the fact that there was not much else to watch on TV last year. Though the writers' strike was resolved in February, it pushed back production of new shows. Ratings dropped; NBC handed a third of its prime time to Jay Leno; it

seemed as if TV itself were petering out.

But now hope is on the way! Also change—at least in the changing channels sense. On top of the usual crush of mid-season events (Fox's revamped *American Idol*) and cable debuts (Sci Fi's *Battlestar Galactica*), there's a rush of strike-delayed shows. If the TV waters of 2008 were becalmed, this month they've become a gi-

ant tsunami about to crash onto an island.

In one of the most anticipated shows—ABC's *Lost*, which returns for Season 5—that island disappeared last May. Having crashed on a mysterious isle, the survivors of Oceanic Air Flight 815 are learning ever

Round-trip As *Lost* returns to TV, Jack (Matthew Fox) tries to return to the island

more about the local weirdness, the legacy of an experiment aimed at manipulating space-time. At the end of Season 4, the island's Einsteinian juju caused it to vanish, taking most of the castaways with it, while six escapees realize they have to return—along with a villain now allied with them, plus a dead guy—to prevent a catastrophe.

In the two-episode premiere (Jan. 21, 9 p.m. E.T.), the survivors try to determine where (and perhaps when) the island has gone. The debut adds a mind-bending twist to the show's time-jumping narrative that I won't spoil, while keeping its head of steam from Season 4. *Lost* has a pulp streak—the premiere doesn't just use but also conspicuously repeats the line "God help us all!"—yet it's leavened by humor and performances that ground the bizarre events in a plausible humanity. (Especially Jorge Garcia as sweet, afflicted Hurley, the world's unluckiest lottery winner.)

If you prefer your drama less quantum-physics-based and easier to follow, NBC returns *Friday Night Lights* for Season 3 (Fridays, 9 p.m. E.T.). Calling *FNL* a high school football drama is a disservice, though it is one; it's really a drama about small-town life. *FNL*'s Dillon, Texas, is a microcosm of America—overextended, burdened at home and at work but still undyingly willing to have faith and hope. Shot intimately with handheld camera, it's a moving but unsentimental celebration of community, of pulling together not just because it's right but also because it's necessary. The show's moral center, coach Eric Taylor (Kyle Chandler) puts it best when a former player asks him why he insists on trying to help him get his life together: "Because I need something good to happen." Is there anybody in America who disagrees?

Lies, Damned Lies and Matrimony

JUST AS ZEITGEISTY BUT LESS UPLIFTING is Fox's *Lie to Me* (Wednesdays, 9 p.m. E.T.), which may be the most cynical TV drama ever made. That's not an insult; it's a tribute to how well the show executes its purpose. It follows Cal Lightman, an expert on "microexpressions" who reads blinks and grimaces to catch deceptions and solve crimes. Lightman is played pugnaciously by Tim Roth, who expands on the successful Fox philosophy, embodied by Simon Cowell and Gordon Ramsay, that Americans long to be judged by crabby Brits.

Lie to Me's premise is timely and depressing: everybody lies. (The pilot fact-analyzes Dick Cheney, Eliot Spitzer and various notorious celebs to drive home the point; expect a Bernard Madoff reference one episode now.) "The average person tells three lies in 10 minutes of conversation," Lightman crisply informs us, and



Friday Night Lights

Chandler, right, leads a small-town team playing for the title and some hope



United States of Tara

Collette plays a Kansas woman and her three alternative personalities



Big Love

In HBO's polygamy drama, love is as strange—and ordinary—as ever



Trust Me

McCormack and Cavanagh are ad men, not mad men, in this comedy-drama



Lie to Me

Williams and Roth prove you can't go wrong underestimating people's honesty



American Idol

The singing juggernaut is back, with new judge Kara DioGuardi, second from left

while *Lie to Me* balances him with a partner (Kelli Williams) so earnest and sweet that she eats pudding for breakfast, his jaded worldview is borne out. The characters lie for reasons good, evil and poignant; they lie in guilt and in innocence—but in the end, they lie and they lie. *Lie to Me*'s pilot is brisk anthropological fun. But you may find yourself staring at your loved ones' faces a little too closely afterward.

Working the other side of the decep-

tion business is *Trust Me* (TNT, Mondays, 10 p.m. E.T., debuting Jan. 26), set in the world of men and advertising. It has the misfortune of sharing this subject with the masterpiece *Mad Men*, though its period (the present) and tone (comedy-drama) are far different. Mason (Eric McCormack) and Conner (Tom Cavanagh) are partners at a Chicago agency, getting by on caffeine and zingers. It's innocuous fun—Cavanagh (*Ed*) exhales charm as effortlessly as most

mammals do carbon dioxide—but predictable, down to the pilot's last-minute inspiration-in-the-pitch-meeting climax.

And strangely, the show—conceived before autumn's economic free fall—seems further from today than Don Draper's 1962: the office is flush, everyone has iPhones and drinks Starbucks, and no one is getting downsized. *Trust Me* may have to adjust its depiction of business—if the viewers don't lay it off first.

Showtime's *United States of Tara* (Sundays, 10 p.m. E.T.), on the other hand, is not something you've seen before: a comedy with four protagonists all sharing the same body. The title character (Toni Collette) is a Kansas woman with two kids and three alternative personalities, or "alters": T, a trash-mouthed 16-year-old; Buck, a gun-loving redneck (and a dude); and Alice, a '50s-style prim housewife. Which makes for complications, as when hubby Max (John Corbett) must spurn T's advances because "Tara wouldn't like it."

Created by Diablo Cody (*Juno*), *Tara* is funny, fascinating and frustrating. As in Cody's pregnancy comedy, too many characters speak the same pop-culturese, and each persona is a flat-out cliché. But family members' interaction with the alters is believable: you get a real sense that they're accustomed to Tara's condition, having developed different strategies for dealing with each alter. The problem is that the show is too determined to play up its oddity, down to having Tara change costume with every transformation, which actually detracts from Collette's amazing character shifts—she adopts a new personality just by changing expression—and makes *Tara* seem like a Tracey Ullman special. *Tara* has the potential to be a great comedy about identity, but it needs to be less self-conscious about its strangeness.

Tara could take a few tips from HBO's polygamy drama, *Big Love* (Sundays, 9 p.m. E.T.), which returns in top form for Season 3. Its premise is just as outlandish: a multiple marriage among religious Fundamentalists in Utah. (On *Big Love*, a man has three wives; on *Tara*, a man has three and a husband.) But *Big Love* quickly settles you into its odd setting. The particulars of the Henricksons' lives—their intrigues and secrecy, yes, but also their familiar family dynamics and sincere faith—are presented, simply and unpatronizingly, as the reality of the show's universe.

If there's anything TV has taught us, after all, it's that nothing is as ordinary as weird families, or as weird as ordinary ones. TV is all about families, real and ersatz, on islands and gridirons, in pitch meetings and interrogations. After a long hiatus, it's good to have the family back. ■



MOVIES

Cinema's Best Friend. Why the movies have developed a serious case of puppy love. (Hint: they're fetching)

BY BELINDA LUSCOMBE

WHAT DO ALL HOLLYWOOD STUDIO EXECs wish they had right now? A hot dog. The three puppy movies released in the past three months—lapdog empowerment tale *Beverly Hills Chihuahua*, ruff-road-trip comedy *Bolt* and man-meets-retriever weepie *Marley & Me*—have all taken in more kibble than any other dog movie in four years. On Jan. 16, the canine canon expands again with *Hotel for Dogs*, in which two kids find a way to house, feed and, crucially, toilet train more than a dozen strays. Plus, the kids are orphans. If by the end of the film you don't want to adopt something, check your pulse.

Why the sudden fondness for movies about domestic terrierism? Well, it's not that sudden; poodles have been a staple of family entertainment since Rin Tin Tin was a pup. We love dog movies for the same reason we love dogs. "A dog has no use for fancy cars or big homes or designer clothes," says Owen Wilson's character in *Marley & Me*. "A dog doesn't care if you're rich or poor, clever or dull, smart or dumb. Give him your heart, and he'll give you his." There it is: both dogs and dog movies afford us a chance to be incredibly sappy without feeling like a sucker. As the bajillion hits on *Puppy Cam* and the speculation over the par-

ticulars of the Obamas' hound of choice attest, dogs are the closest thing we have to a de-ironization device.

Hotel for Dogs takes full advantage of this ick-free wholesomeness. The children rig together such amenities as an old shoe vending machine, a herding room and an open-car-window simulator. There's even groom service. They give the dogs the home the children can't find for themselves. For those who feel a little powerless—like kids or a nation in the middle of a crippling economic crisis—dogs represent something singular: a being even they can help.

And the content of puppy movies rarely gives parents pause. (Sorry, *Another* pile of dog flicks: the puns.) *Marley* dies but at the end of a long, mischievous life. The *Chihuahua* flirts, but the only doggy style in the movie is her couture. There are few worthier—or safer—recipients of a child's affection. "Dogs are not attached to any gender," says Alan Beck, a professor of human-animal studies at Purdue University. "They have no age, no race, no background. You don't have to justify anyone's love for them." With a few *Cujo*-like exceptions, dog movies are the nutritious comfort food of cinema, exactly what parents seek in uncertain times.

Of course, dogs know no uncertain times. That's what makes them more than just cuter, furrier actors, says David Frankel, *Marley & Me*'s director. "There's something wonderful about the way dogs live in the moment. They don't look back. They don't yearn. They don't want what they don't have. Clearly, we are not like that as a nation."

That, plus it's not nearly so adorable when we chew the furniture. ■

In *Hotel for Dogs*, two kids shelter more than a dozen strays. If by the end of the film, you don't want to adopt something, check your pulse

BOOKS

Our Inner Animal. Beasts are more human—and humans more bestial—than we think



FIRST LINE

What does an animal need to have a good life?



FIRST LINE

Homo sapiens is a mammal that, uncharacteristically, travels on two legs, leaving the forelimbs free for other tasks.

BY LEV GROSSMAN

HUMANS! THEY DO LIKE their words. Studies—by scientists who stuck recording devices on them and then counted—suggest that they speak some 16,000 words a day. Vervet monkeys, prairie dogs and European starlings have rudimentary language systems, but for serious verbiage, you have to hand it to *Homo sapiens*.

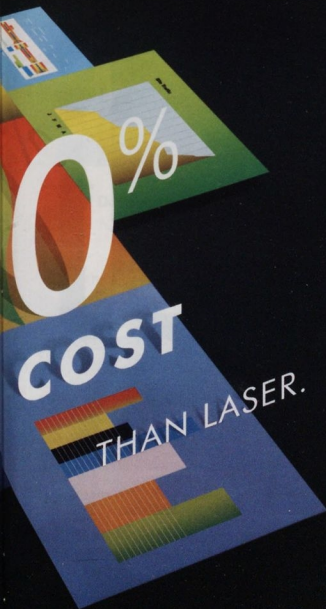
Take these two specimens. Hannah Holmes is a tall, blond, personally assertive science journalist. Temple Grandin is an eminent scholar of animal behavior who also happens to be autistic. These humans have written two books that look very different but are,

in their warm-blooded, four-chambered hearts, very similar. In *The Well-Dressed Ape* (Random House; 351 pages), Holmes attempts to produce a thorough description of *Homo sapiens* using the kind of language we ordinarily reserve for animals. In *Animals Make Us Human* (Houghton Mifflin Harcourt; 342 pages), Grandin does the opposite: she describes animals in terms we usually associate with human beings. Both writers are after the same thing. They want to demolish the hard line that separates people from animals; you might call it the doctrine of human exceptionalism. They're both tunneling under the bars of the cage, but they're doing it from different directions.

Holmes and Grandin share the habit of putting everyday phenomena under the kind of scientific scrutiny usually reserved for giant squid and black holes, which causes them to notice things that regular civilians wouldn't pick up on in a lifetime. For example, Holmes points out that even though humans are covered in hair follicles—we have more of them than chimpanzees do—most of our fur grows in an “extravagant topknot” on our heads. In the context of the wider animal kingdom, this is a bizarre, even perverse evolutionary innovation. We also have more sweat glands than any other animal on earth—we can sweat almost a gallon an hour. We don't think of ourselves as poisonous, but our mouths are as full of noxious, infectious bacteria as is a Komodo dragon's, and a human bite can be seriously toxic.

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The premise of *The Well-Dressed Ape* is that everybody knows human beings are really animals but nobody cops to it linguistically. Just talking about ourselves the way we talk about animals is a step toward self-knowledge. "We *Homo sapiens*," Holmes writes, "so eager to describe the rest of the world, have been chary about committing our own species to paper." Holmes describes us quite wonderfully, and she's a tireless compiler of biological trivia. She scours the extremes of the earth for anomalous and specially adapted humans, like the Tierra del Fuegians, who (before they died out) wore no more than a loose animal skin even in sleet and snow, and the Yana Indians of California, whose men and women speak different dialects. She has an engaging passion for rankings, as if all earthly fauna were competitors in an endless evolutionary Olympics. Our sense of taste, for example, outperforms a pigeon's and a tiger's (it turns out that tigers can't taste sweetness—sorry, Tony) but is crushed in turn by that of a lowly catfish, which has taste buds not just in its mouth but all over its body.

Grandin isn't much of a writer (nor, on the evidence, is her co-author, Catherine Johnson), but she's at least as astute an observer as Holmes, plus she's an actual scientist and an influential designer of humane cattle-handling systems. Grandin is also famous for being one of the world's most professionally eminent autistic people, which gives her work an ineffably distinctive perspective. In *Animals Make Us Human*, she's particularly interested in a kind of behavior called a stereotype: an abnormal action that someone can't stop repeating. Autistic people often have stereotypes. So, it turns out, do unhappy animals.

Animals Make Us Human is a practical, species-by-

species guide to making animals happier, grounded in Grandin's belief that "all animals and people have the same core emotion systems in the brain." For most people, her chapters on dogs and cats will be the most immediately rewarding—it never would have occurred to me that one reason cats' emotions are so hard to read is that *they have no eyebrows*—but there's a world of insight to be gained from her work on farm animals as well as more exotic zoo animals. Grandin shows a startling tenderness as she teases out what's troubling a wolf who couldn't stop pacing and a herd of antelopes who had panic attacks on their daily walks. (The culprit

We don't think of ourselves as poisonous, but our mouths are as full of noxious bacteria as a Komodo dragon's. A human bite can be seriously toxic

was a yellow sign; yellow is a scary color for many beasts.) Anybody who thinks autistic people lack empathy should read *Animals Make Us Human*.

There aren't many worse insults for a human than to be called an animal, but these books—which do just that, at great length—are instead strangely ennobling. They make you realize how much effort we expend every day convincing ourselves that we're different and what a relief it is to admit that we're not. It's lonely here at the top of the tool-using hierarchy—why don't we let down our fur and join the club? If they'll have us, that is. If animals could describe us in return, the results might not be so flattering.

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Short List

TIME'S PICKS FOR THE WEEK



1 SONG Just Dance

Blondie, Madonna, Gwen Stefani: that's your platinum history of modern dance-floor divas. Lady GaGa (Stefani Joanne Germanotta, 22) could be next. *Just Dance* is so campy and slathered in vocal effects that you can't believe you're dancing to it. And so catchy that there's no way to resist.

2 TELEVISION The Electric City

PBS's hip-hop update of its kids' show is shinier than the funky 1970s version (which brought us Morgan Freeman as Easy Reader) and adds a superhero story line. But the concept is the same: using music and humor to show that words are a kind of magic.

3 ALBUM Mosaic: A Celebration of Blue Note Records

To mark the label's 70th, pianist Bill Charlap leads an all-star combo (Nicholas Payton, Ravi Coltrane, Steve Wilson) reprising prime creations by Blue Note artists including Thelonious Monk, McCoy Tyner and Herbie Hancock. It's a fresh, fitting birthday salute.

4 DVD Rossellini's History Films

After the neorealist *Open City* and his notorious films (and affair) with Ingrid Bergman, Roberto Rossellini turned to cinematic history lessons. A new Criterion set collects three of these documents: on the Medici, Blaise Pascal and René Descartes. Austere and illuminating.

5 MOVIE Chandni Chowk to China

It's sort of *Kung Fu Pandit*: a lowly veggie cutter from Delhi (Akshay Kumar) is mistaken for a great Chinese warrior. Director Nikhil Advani's mix of Bollywood and Hong Kong is too slapsticky but has a terrific turn from martial-arts veteran Gordon Liu as the villain.

Arts Online
For more reviews and openings this weekend, go to time.com/entertainment

By Richard Corliss, Radhika Jones, James Poniewozik, Christopher Porterfield and Josh Tyrangiel



Q&A with Elizabeth Alexander

For a short while on Inauguration Day, a poet, not a President, will hold the world's attention. Alexander, Barack Obama's choice to compose and read a poem on the occasion of his swearing in, spoke to TIME about writing for the moment.

How did it feel to be asked by Obama to play such an important role in the Inauguration?

Overwhelming, humbling, joyful. What we have is his understanding that the arts do have a place in day-to-day life, that poetry can still us—that is, let us pause for a moment and, as we contemplate that careful, careful language, hopefully see situations anew, from a different angle. That's so much of what art and poetry offer. To have that affirmed by the President-elect has really been an exciting thing for poets.

Is this the first time you've written a poem to order? I've written some occasional poems before—poems for Phi Beta Kappa induction ceremonies, poems for a few close friends' weddings. But I'm not quite sure that prepares one for something like this.

How have you been preparing? I have just tried to create a lot of space around my head—which of course is challenging because I live in a family and I have a job. I've kept a notebook with me, just trying to keep track of everything and stop in my tracks whenever possible.

Did you give yourself a reading list?

I did a little bit of revisiting of poems that are important to me, and poets in the Rolodex who have addressed the moment in language that is fresh and not hackneyed or corny. I've gone back to poets like Gwendolyn Brooks and Auden and Seamus Heaney. But I've also had to put them aside, Brooks in particular, because I kept looking at great lines and thinking, She already—I can't do that! At the end of the day, your job is to listen to your own music.





Michael

Kinsley

God Is Black. What Obama owes to the omniscient, authoritative voices of James Earl Jones and Morgan Freeman

IN THE 1950S AND '60S, GOD WAS A MAN NAMED Alexander Scourby. He was born in Brooklyn, N.Y., of Greek immigrant parents and attended college in West Virginia, but he spoke in a "deep and resonant voice" (as Wikipedia puts it) and—here is the key point—with more than a touch of a British accent. Long after Britain had exhausted its resources in World War II and lost its empire, a British accent conveyed authority, dignity, power.

In Hollywood, they sometimes refer to an omniscient but unseen narrator as a VOG, short for voice of God. Scourby was the leading VOG of his day, in documentaries like *Victory at Sea* and numerous commercials. His was the voice in the first ever recording of the entire Bible, made in the 1940s. At that time, it was as natural to assume that God spoke with a British accent as it was to assume that he had a beard—or, for that matter, that he was a he.

Scourby died in 1985, after at least two complete recordings of the Bible and one of the Koran. Yes, in those days, even the Prophet Muhammad had a British accent. So who is God today? The answer is clear: he is James Earl Jones. Jones' voice is best known for five immortal syllables: "THIS [pause] is CNN." Jones is also the voice of Darth Vader in the *Star Wars* films. And his recording of the King James Version of the Bible has sold more than 400,000 copies. Jones' voice is even deeper and more resonant than Scourby's, but there is only a trace of a British accent. Jones is African American and sounds it.

The currently best-selling audio Bible, *Inspired by... the Bible Experience*, has an all-star cast including Angela Bassett, Cuba Gooding Jr., Samuel L. Jackson and Forest Whitaker—all African American. Meanwhile, Jones' only real competition for the role of God—at least until Denzel Washington gets a bit older—is Morgan Freeman. Jones is the Old Testament God, fierce and forbidding. Freeman is the New Testament version, all wise and all knowing, to be sure, but more approachable. He has done it twice in movies, has been the VOG in commercials for Listerine and Visa cards, among other products, and was the inevitable choice as narrator for that excruciatingly adorable movie about penguins. Freeman told an Associated Press reporter a few months ago that he is "tired of playing God." Who can blame

him? At least as Freeman plays him, God is a bit hard to take: so full of tough love and wry wisdom that you long to wear a wire and catch him soliciting \$8 million bribes to admit you into heaven.

Brits and pseudo-Brits, in sum, have lost this franchise. If you're a casting director looking for a voice whose very timbre communicates authority, dignity, power, you might even go to Queen Latifah before you resort to Jeremy Irons. The reasons aren't hard to speculate about. The roots of this development go back at least to the 1930s and Paul Robeson's singing "Ol' Man River" in *Showboat*. The therapeutic notion that suffering confers dignity and authority has spread just as the suffering of African Americans over generations has become universally acknowledged. Above all, black American ministers have replaced British politicians, at least in perception, as the world's most eloquent public users of the English language. Our homegrown Martin Luther King Jr. has knocked Winston Churchill off his perch as the ideal.

What's most inspiring about this development is that it can't be faked. There is no element of affirmative action here. Sidney Poitier won't do. The point is not to be black but to sound black. And unlike the integration and near domination of African Americans in professional sports, this is not even a matter of genuine talent breaking down the floodgates. Plenty of white or white-sounding actors could say "THIS [pause] is CNN" as well as Jones. Most people who have heard that phrase a hundred times don't know whose voice it is and—unless the question is raised specifically—they aren't even consciously aware that the person is black. They relate to the voice on a subconscious level, and they associate it with power and authority.

Starting Jan. 20, the most powerful person in the world actually will be a black man. Although President Barack Obama is one of the greatest public speakers now practicing that art, he probably couldn't get hired as the anonymous voice-over spokesman for a brand of cereal because he doesn't sound black enough. Nevertheless, he is a beneficiary of this development. When God turned into an African American, it became less unthinkable that the President might be African American as well. ■





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One New Year's resolution can help you lose weight.



THIS ONE CAN KEEP YOU FROM LOSING YOUR TEENAGER.

Parent-Teen Driving Contract

SPEEDING AND TICKETS

In 2005, speed-related crashes accounted for 44% of fatalities among 15-20 year olds.

AGREEMENT _____

CONSEQUENCES _____

CRASHES

Sixteen-year-old drivers have crash rates that are three times greater than 17-year-old drivers and five times greater than 18-year-old drivers.

AGREEMENT _____

CONSEQUENCES _____

DRINKING AND DRIVING

In 2005, drunk driving caused one of every four fatal teen crashes.

AGREEMENT _____

CONSEQUENCES _____

CELL PHONES, MUSIC, OTHER DISTRACTIONS

Talking on a cell phone while driving gives you the reaction time of a 70-year-old.

AGREEMENT _____

CONSEQUENCES _____

TIME OF DAY

Half the teens that died in car crashes in 2005 were killed between 3 p.m. and midnight. Check your local teen driving curfews.

AGREEMENT _____

CONSEQUENCES _____

NUMBER OF PASSENGERS

According to a recent study, the presence of just one more male teen in a car doubles the chance of a fatal crash.

AGREEMENT _____

CONSEQUENCES _____

SEATBELTS

Using lap/shoulder belts can reduce the risk of dying in a car crash by 45%.

AGREEMENT _____

CONSEQUENCES _____

GRADES

Good grades are important for a teen's future. Consider ways to link driving privileges to good grades.

AGREEMENT _____

CONSEQUENCES _____

TEEN DRIVER

I promise to abide by the contract outlined above. If I break any part of this contract, I will accept the consequences. During any time that I cannot drive, I will be responsible for making other arrangements to get around.

SIGNATURE OF TEEN DRIVER _____

DATE _____

PARENT/GUARDIAN

I promise to do what I can to help my teenager succeed in following this contract. I promise to make time to help my child become a safe and responsible driver. I understand this is an evolving contract and promise to make myself available to discuss these rules and their consequences when necessary.

SIGNATURE OF PARENT(S)/GUARDIAN(S) _____

DATE _____

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When it comes to teens taking risks behind the wheel, parents do matter. Fact is, 75% of teens say their parents would be the best influence in getting them to drive more safely.

Visit your Allstate Agent for a free copy of the Allstate Parent-Teen Driving Contract. Or download an interactive contract you can save, print and update at allstate.com/teen.

It's time to make the world a safer place to drive. THAT'S ALLSTATE'S STAND.



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